

THE MAKING OF THE IMMIGRANT IDENTITY IN THE PRESS:

**Constructing the Immigrant Imagined Community
in Portugal and France**

Ana Sofia Guerreiro

(Supervisors: Dr. Elise Hugueny-Léger; Dr. Manuel Lisboa)

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master in Arts

University of St Andrews
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I, Ana Sofia dos Santos Guerreiro, hereby certify that this dissertation, which is 22,343 words in length, has been written by me, that it is a record of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. All sentences or passages quoted in this dissertation from other people's work (with or without trivial changes) have been placed within quotation marks, and specifically acknowledged by reference to author, work and page. I understand that plagiarism – the unacknowledged use of such passages – will be considered grounds for rejection of the dissertation, and, if serious and/or persistent, may render the candidate ineligible to receive the Mundus degree. I also affirm that, with the exception of the specific acknowledgements, this dissertation is entirely my own work.

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Abstract

On this thesis we present a study concerning the impact of the press on the making of the immigrant imagined community by youngsters in France and Portugal. Three hypotheses were initially put forward: 1. French articles will generate a more negative construction of the immigrant imagined community; 2. articles that discuss education will generate a more active reaction in the participants, as they are primarily related to adolescents; 3. content perceived as negative will have a stronger influence in the shift in the participant's viewpoint than content perceived as positive.

The survey group consisted of 63 participants. The participants were presented with an article from a quality newspaper addressing criminality, employment or education in relation to immigration, and were subsequently required to fill in a questionnaire. Frequencies were used to establish a comparative analysis between the vocabulary patterns in the articles and the vocabulary introduced by the participants. A percentage analysis was used to identify the impact of the articles on the participants.

The thesis is comprised of a literature review, research methodology, and a discussion of the findings. The findings were discussed in accordance with the topic of the article and the cultural background of the participants. The results showed that youngsters from both France and Portugal prefer deflating to neutral and praising vocabulary, constructing an overall negative immigrant imagined community. Although youngsters draw from the general vocabulary patterns in the articles, the attributes chosen do not match those predominant in the articles. Education articles are those which generated the greatest consensus but also the least impact on the participants. Content perceived by the participants as negative had a stronger impact on the participants' viewpoint than content perceived as positive or neutral.

These results indicate that negative depictions of the immigrant in the press will have a strong impact in the making of the immigrant imagined community by youngsters.

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Introduction

‘Se tivermos em conta uma abordagem dos efeitos a longo prazo, é incontornável encarar os media como recursos simbólicos de reforço e até de construção de identidades.’¹

(João Carlos Correia: 2007, p.132)

The industrial revolution at the turn of the 20th century marked the growth of capitalism and technological progress, leading to an acceleration of human mobility. The nation-state, by then established in Europe, reinforced its borders, and human mobility became restricted, thus generating a self-contradictory situation at a global scale, between the facilitated human mobility by technological progress and a control imposed by the nation-state. The 20th century also marked numerous decolonisation processes and the rise of postcolonial cultures, defined by Alec G. Hargreaves and Mark McKinney as cultures which are 'implicitly defined, even if only antithetically, with reference to current or former relations between (ex-) imperial nations and their overseas dominations'.² Colonialism thus added to human mobility by creating a space of migrations between the metropolis and the colonies that remains significant nowadays.

The increasing development and establishment of ethnic minority groups in the metropolis introduced the "problem of immigration"³ and, consequently, the debate on national identity and multiculturalism, pertinent and divisive up to today. The transfer of information from the private to the public sphere transformed the media, in general, and the newspaper, in particular, into the means of defining the imagined community – a political community characterised by the fact that its members will never know most of their fellows, and by its boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.⁴ This was achieved, on the one hand, by including those who shared a national origin, language and collective

¹ [If we consider an approach of the long term effects, it is impossible not to perceive the media as symbolic resources of reinforcement and even of construction of identities.] My translation.

² *Post-Colonial Cultures in France*, ed. by Alec G. Hargreaves and Mark McKinney (London, New York: Routledge, 1997), p.5.

³ Maxim Silverman, *Deconstructing the nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in France* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), p.3.

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 2006), pp.6-7.

destiny and, on the other hand, by excluding those who did not.⁵ With the increasing role of the press as a maker of identities, media representation is widely acknowledged as progressively replacing personal experience.⁶

In view of the increasing importance of immigration and of the media as maker of identities, we propose to analyse how final year high school students, the next generation of policy makers,⁷ read and absorb the content published by newspapers on the topic. We will focus on students aged 18 or older from France and Portugal – nations with a pertinent colonial history as well as high levels of immigration from the ex-colonies –, and their response to articles from quality newspapers. These deal with three topics often associated with immigration: criminality, employment and education. We will compare the concepts drawn from the articles to those introduced by the participants, and define the making of the immigrant imagined community according to the topic of the article and to the cultural background of the articles and the participants.

In view of the similarities and disparities in French and Portuguese colonial histories that emerged from the secondary sources,⁸ and of the relevance of the topics for the focus group, three hypotheses are put forward:

1. Despite the apparent similarity between French and Portuguese postcolonial immigration trends, French articles will generate a more negative construction of the immigrant imagined community than Portuguese articles, possibly as a result of different decolonisation processes;
2. Articles discussing education will generate a more active reaction in the participants, as they are primarily related to adolescents;
3. Content perceived as negative will have a stronger influence in the shift in the participant's viewpoint than content perceived as positive.

⁵ Gérard Noiriel, *Immigration, antisémitisme et racisme en France (XIXe-XXe siècle): Discours publics, humiliations privées* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), p.48.

⁶ Uli Windisch, *Violence jeunes, médias et sciences sociales* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1999), p.7.

⁷ Fiona A. White et al, 'Adolescent racial prejudice development: the role of friendship quality and interracial contact', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33 (2009), 524-534 (p.524).

⁸ See Chapter 1.

The study will be based on the comparative analysis of the information presented in the articles⁹ and the information introduced by the participants in the response questionnaires,¹⁰ and will be divided in four sections:

Chapter 1 will provide a brief overview of the role of nations and nationalism in the creation of the imagined community. Firstly, it will focus on the concept of nation and its implications. Secondly, it will debate the role of French and Portuguese colonialism in recent immigration trends and in the perception of immigration as a problem. Thirdly, it will explore contemporary models of integration in France and Portugal. Finally, it will analyse the role of the media in the construction of the imagined community and its impact on the formation of the representation of the *other* in adolescents, as a maker of identities through identification and difference.

Chapter 2 will delineate the research methodology by identifying the mass media research methods employed and by defining the methodology used in the content analysis. It will define and justify the choice of newspapers, articles, and focus group. Finally, it will describe the questionnaire construction and application procedures given the purposes of the study.

Chapter 3 will present a detailed discussion of the findings of the study. It will be divided in two sections: the first section will present the results according to the topic of the article, and the second section according to the cultural background of the articles and the participants. Both sections will focus on the comparison of the key attributes and actions of the immigrant as exposed in the article and as introduced by the participants. In addition, it will examine the identification of the theme and sources, the participants' perceptions of the newspaper, article and content's objectivity, the rate of suggestions made to the resolution of the problems addressed, and the influence of the article in the making of the immigrant imagined community.

Chapter 4 will present the conclusions drawn from the study, identify the research study limitations and propose recommendations for future studies with the same focus.

It is expected that the analysis will provide an insight on how and to what extent the press influences the making of the immigrant imagined community in adolescents.

⁹ See Appendices 1-6.

¹⁰ See Appendix 7.

Chapter 1: The nation, colonial empires, the media and their impact on the making of identities

1.1 From the nation to colonial empires and immigration

As early as 1882, Ernest Renan identified in his speech, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, the concept of nation and linked it to the feelings of inclusion and exclusion that still define the nation nowadays. To this concept, Renan related the belief in a common past and future, shared by a collective:

Avoir des gloires communes dans le passé, une volonté commune dans le présent; avoir fait des grandes choses ensemble, vouloir en faire encore, voilà les conditions essentielles pour être un peuple.¹

The concept of nation was later retrieved by Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, in 1983. Gellner, on the one hand, dissociated nation from the relation to the spirit and to tradition and labelled it as an artificial, that is, as a constructed element of humanity.² In addition, he expanded Renan's idea of a collective by adding that it is not sufficient for an individual to perceive himself as a member of a nation. He must also be recognised as such by the other members of that same nation (Gellner 1983: 19). Anderson, on the other hand, and along with Renan's line of thought, introduced the concept of the "imagined community", and placed a particular emphasis on the two elements of its formation process: the inclusion of those sharing the same characteristics as the *self*, and the exclusion of the *other* (Anderson 2006: 6-7). Despite the central role of the imagined community in the making of national identities, globalisation has led to a contrasting developing concept – that of identity in a state of flux, that is, an identity no longer linked to a single nation, but mobile and volatile. This identity raises questions as to what is a community nowadays and whether we can still talk of “community” in the sense of a homogeneous group of people who is perceived within that frame.

¹ Ernest Renan, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?', in *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?: et autres écrits politiques*, présentation Raoul Girardet (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1996), pp.221-243 (p.240). [To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, wish to perform still more; these are the essential conditions to be a people]. My translation.

² Ernest Gellner, *Nations et Nationalisme*, trad. Bénédicte Pineau (Paris: Payot, 1983), p.18.

In his work, Anderson also distinguished nationalism from racism, by identifying the former with historical destinies and the latter with contaminations outside history (Anderson 2006: 149). Although this idea has been supported by academics, such as Margarita Sanchez-Mazas,³ it has also been contradicted by others, namely by Hafid Gafaiti, who identifies nationalism and racism as two aspects of a single process.⁴ In effect, although Gafaiti is correct in the sense that both racism and nationalism lead to exclusionary practices, there is a definite difference between the two: whereas racism denies human rights on the grounds of biological difference, xenophobic behaviour denies rights not to the individual as a human being, but to the individual in his role as a foreigner, as an outsider of the nation. Accordingly, the target of xenophobic behaviour is not a people or a race, but the individual perceived as the intruder. The foreigner, or the outsider, has more recently become associated with the immigrant, that is, with the stranger within a nation other than his, the one who does not share an identity similar to that of the *self*.⁵ As it will be discussed later in this chapter, the imagined community is, as defended by Anderson (Anderson 2006: 29) and Noiriel (Noiriel 2008: 48), greatly influenced by the press in its role as both a maker of identities and as an element of union between the members of a community.

In order to better understand and compare the contemporary impact of immigrant communities from the ex-colonies in the French and Portuguese metropolises, it is necessary to first identify the similarities and the differences between these two ex-colonial empires. Whereas Portugal started its colonisation process in the 15th century, mainly in Southern Africa and South America, France's colonial empire developed in the 16th century, focusing first on North America and the Caribbean, and only later on Northern and Western Africa. The mid-20th century marked the decolonisation process for both colonial empires, though with significant differences. For France, the independence in the Northern African colonies, today the greatest source of French immigration (Silverman 1992: 10), began in 1956 with the independence of Morocco and Tunisia. Algeria, on the other hand, did not gain independence until 1962, following eight years of a guerrilla warfare war that would lead to over 1 million casualties and a resentful postcolonial

³ Margarita Sanchez-Mazas, *Racisme et xénophobie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), p.43.

⁴ Hafid Gafaiti, 'Nationalism, Colonialism and Ethnic discourse in the construction of French identity', in *French Civilization and its discontents: nationalism, colonialism, race*, ed. by Tyler Stovall and Georges Van der Abbeele (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.189-212 (p.149).

⁵ Julia Kristeva, *Étrangers à nous-mêmes* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p.140.

relationship (*Post-Colonial Cultures* 1997: 18). Portugal, unlike France, saw the independence wars in Angola (14 years), Mozambique (10 years) and Guinea-Bissau (11 years) taking place under a dictatorship regime, with approximately 80,000 casualties,⁶ less than one tenth of those suffered in the French colonial war. With the fall of the dictatorial regime in 1974 and the transition to a democratic government, independence was given to the colonies, and new postcolonial ties were established.⁷

The space of migration established by colonialism (Silverman 1992: 30) gave place to a postcolonial market relying on cheap immigrant labour,⁸ which has been identified as one of the main sources of conflict between national members and minority groups.⁹ However, factors other than economy must be considered when analysing the relationship between the ex-colonies and the metropolises. Among them is the threat to national identity, closely related to the concepts of nation and imagined community, addressed earlier. The identity threat produced by communities from the ex-colonies is described by Pierre Guibentif as specific to the post-decolonisation period seeing as immigrants were not perceived as outsiders up until when the overseas territories ceased belonging to the empire.¹⁰

According to some authors, the transition in 1974 to a democratic government that was opposed to colonialism avoided, in Portugal, an identity crisis resulting from increasing postcolonial immigration flow (Costa Pinto 1999: 419), thus contrasting, at a first level, with France's challenged national identity.¹¹ In effect, Noiriel identified in the Algerian community three elements that still define the Algerians, according to Gafaiti, as the absolute *others* (Gafaiti 2003: 203) – a new presence in French territory, a non-European nationality and an origin from a country formerly enemy of France.¹² To these three aspects, we must add the gap between cultures that has made non-Europeans more

⁶ *A História da Expansão Portuguesa*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, 5 vols (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), V.

⁷ António Costa Pinto, 'Da África à Europa', in *A História da Expansão Portuguesa*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, 5 vols (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), V, pp.414-420 (p.420).

⁸ Karima Laachir, 'Crossing the "Threshold of Intolerance": Contemporary French Society', *Critical Studies: Interdisciplinarity and Translation*, 20 (2002), 279-295 (p.287).

⁹ Wilhelm Dupré, 'Multiculturalism and Xenophobia: Reflections on a Common Dilemma', *Church and Theology in Context*, 40 (2002), 161-177 (p.163).

¹⁰ Pierre Guibentif, 'Le Portugal face à l'immigration', *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 12 (1996), 121-138 (p.124).

¹¹ Richard Derderian, *North Africans in Contemporary France: Becoming Visible* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), p.1.

¹² Gérard Noiriel, *Atlas de l'immigration en France: exclusion, intégration...* (Paris: Autrement, 2002), p.25.

culturally distinct and therefore more “visible” than European immigrants (*Post-colonial Cultures* 1997: 17).

The increasing immigration from the ex-colonies to the metropolises is, at present, entering a new phase, with the extension of prejudice to second-generation immigrants, who, born and raised in the metropolises, do not perceive themselves as outsiders (*Post-colonial Cultures* 1997: p.4). Richard Derderian analysed the specificity of the French case:

With the advent of the term ‘beur’ to designate the progeny of North African workers, it is the first time that second-generation members of an immigrant community have been assigned an ethnic label. (Derderian 2004: 12)

This ethnic label is tightly connected to the physical aspects of North Africans, and is capable of identifying in them a foreign origin (Noiriel 2007: 655). Postcolonial immigration has turned Portugal and France into the two European Union countries with the greatest percentage of Africans in comparison to the total immigrant population. The percentage of immigrants from Africa reaches 45.3% in France and 42.1% in Portugal. Portugal possesses, in addition, a great percentage of South American immigrants – 16.7%, second only to Spain – 19.1%.¹³

According to the official statistics, in 1999 two out of the top three immigration countries in France were ex-colonies – Algeria, 13.3% and Morocco, 12.1%.¹⁴ In Portugal, Cape-Verde, Brazil and Angola figure in positions one, two and four, respectively.¹⁵ This is supported by Rui Pena Pires¹⁶ and Machado, among others, who identify the majority of immigrants in Portugal as coming from the PALOPs – Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa¹⁷ (Machado 1997: 32). These significant numbers have intensified immigrant visibility in France and turned Portugal, historically a country of emigration, into a country of immigration (Guibentif 1996: 123).

¹³ Fernando Luís Machado, ‘Contornos e especificidades da imigração em Portugal’, *Sociologia – Problemas e Práticas*, 24 (1997), 9-44 (p.36).

¹⁴ INSEE, <www.insee.fr> [accessed 5 April 2009].

¹⁵ INE, <www.ine.pt> [accessed 5 April 2009].

¹⁶ Rui Pena Pires, ‘Mudanças na imigração: uma análise das estatísticas sobre a população estrangeira em Portugal, 1998-2001’, *Sociologia – Problemas e Práticas*, 34 (2002), 151-166.

¹⁷ Portuguese-speaking African countries.

The growing presence of immigrants and their descendants in France and Portugal has generated what has been described as “the problem of immigration” (Silverman 1992: 3). Laachir explains:

The ‘formation of an immigrant complex’ certainly does not simply refer to variant immigrant groups being harassed or targeted, but to the increasing belief and acceptance of the idea that immigrants in general constitute a ‘problem’. (Laachir 2002: 289)

To this “problem”, Silverman relates the contemporary impression of a “threshold of tolerance” in France, that is, the belief that social harmony can only be achieved within a cohesive nation,¹⁸ by limiting those who are ethnically different through an integration and control policy (Silverman 1992: 84). In effect, Pires identifies the same problem in Portugal, which despite having one of the lowest percentages of immigrant population in the EU, faces a depletion of the labour market resources (Pires 2002: 163). The perception of the immigrant as a socio-economical threat has contributed to the gradual replacement of biological racism by cultural racism, which denies members of an ethnic group any possibility of integration (Derderian 2004: 12). As ascertained by Driss Maghraoui, ‘This [social and economic] degradation is gradually being perceived not in terms of socioeconomic groups, but in terms of cultural and ethnic categories’.¹⁹

Xenophobia – discrimination on the basis of nationality – has been, as Noiriel defends legitimised by the nation-state (Noiriel 2002: 22). Far from the biological prejudice propagated in the colonies, the nation-state as a political identity legitimises the inclusion of those within its borders and, accordingly, the exclusion of those without, associating the concepts of *self* and *other* to the nation. Anastasia Gorodzeisky and Moshe Semyonov identified yet another difference in social exclusionary practices within the nation-state – the opposition between exclusion from the social system and exclusion from rights:

While exclusion from the social system constitutes attempts and efforts by majority group members to prevent the physical presence of out-groups (e.g. foreigners) in the country, exclusion from rights pertains to the mechanisms adapted by majority group members to

¹⁸ Maxim Silverman, ‘Citizenship and the nation-state in France’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 14 (1991), 333-349 (p.338).

¹⁹ Driss Maghraoui, ‘French Identity, Islam, and North Africans – colonial legacies, postcolonial realities’, in *French Civilization and its discontents: nationalism, colonialism, race*, ed. by Tyler Stovall and Georges Van der Abbeele (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), pp.213-234 (p.219).

deny or restrict out-groups (e.g. foreigners) from equal access to rights and benefits that are commonly enjoyed by members of the in-group population.²⁰

Gorodzeisky and Semyonov add that the in-group is more likely to endorse the second type of action if the first proves to be ineffective (Gorodzeisky 2009: 405).

Although Noiriel's viewpoint of legitimate exclusionary practices associated with the nation-state is reasonable, the fact is that the continuing failure of exclusionary policies and the growing need for a cohesive nation-state has led to the development of different acculturation strategies aiming at the construction of a homogeneous community out of a heterogeneous group of ethnic minorities.

Maghraoui identified three types of inclusionary models: assimilation, in which the ethnic minority adopts the dominant values of the society in which it is inserted; insertion, in which the minority group is collectively placed within society; and integration, in which public institutions incorporate individuals from the minority groups into the imagined community (Maghraoui 2003: 220-1). Despite the significant role of these models in the acculturation of immigrant communities, all of them presuppose, nonetheless, that it is the foreigner's role to abandon his/her culture in order to be successfully integrated in the host society. Félix Neto takes into account the possibility that the foreigner will reject these models and adds two other acculturation models, which focus on unsuccessful integration processes – separation and marginalisation.²¹ Whereas the former consists on the foreigner's rejection of the in-group culture, the latter considers the lack of interest in the in-group culture as a consequence of exclusion and discrimination. The acculturation models encouraged by a particular government, nation-state or time period greatly influence the in-group perception of immigrants.

As regards the European Union in general, Dupré and Laachir point out a recently developed paradigm of inclusion: if, on the one hand, borders are disappearing within the EU; on the other hand, immigration laws are making it increasingly difficult for non-Europeans to access these countries (Dupré 2002: 172; Laachir 2002: 281). Despite the

²⁰ Anastasia Gorodzeisky and Moshe Semyonov, 'Terms of exclusion: public views towards admission and allocation of rights to immigrants in European countries', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32 (2009), 401-423 (p.405).

²¹ Félix Neto, 'Acculturation strategies among adolescents from immigrant families in Portugal', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26 (2002), 17-38 (p.19).

generalisations, models of integration still differ in each country and there seems to exist a consensus that there is a significant contrast between the models of integration diffused in the United Kingdom and in France,²² which can then be applied to other European nation-states. According to Silverman, whereas in France there is a dual conception that opposes the national to the foreigner, as well as an inclination towards individual integration, the United Kingdom openly recognises ethnic minorities within the national community (Silverman 1992: 2-4). The sociologist Michel Wieviorka defined the French model of integration:

Le modèle [d'intégration] 'à la française' est une construction qui non seulement refoule les identités culturelles particulières dans l'espace privé, mais tend à exercer une pression sur elles pour qu'elles se dissolvent – est visée alors, en fait, non pas tant une intégration qu'une assimilation pure et simple.²³

This statement highlights the practical consequences of this model at a social level (e.g. the elimination of ethnic cultures) and at an official level, seeing as the absence of references to ethnicity in official statistics and censuses, has caused difficulties to the study of ethnic minorities in France (Derderian 2004: 13), by imposing the image of a homogeneous society (Noiriel 2007: 129). Only recently, with the creation of the Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co-Development of France in 2007, was this issue openly addressed in the public sphere. The creation of this Ministry was not, however, without controversy, seeing as President Nicolas Sarkozy openly emphasised, for the first time, the fundamental role of immigrants in the construction of a multiethnic, rather than homogeneous, French national identity.²⁴

Portugal, unlike France, has been linked since the mid-20th century to the notion of Lusotropicology as invented by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre and, consequently, to the UK model of integration. As stated by Richard J. Hammond, '[Lusotropicology] boils down to the assertion that the national character of the Portuguese

²² David Blatt, 'Towards a Multicultural Political Model in France ? The Limits of Immigrant Collective Action, 1968-94', in *Nationalism and Ethnic Policies*, 1 (1995), 156-177 (p.156).

²³ Michel Wieviorka, 'L'intégration: un concept en difficulté', *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, s.n., 125 (2008), 221-240 (p.232). [The French model of integration is a construction that not only represses specific cultural identities within a private space, but also tends to apply pressure so that they will dissolve – the aim is, in fact, not as much an integration as an assimilation pure and simple]. My translation.

²⁴ AFP, 'Polémique autour du ministère de l'immigration proposé par Sarkozy', *La Croix*, 11 March 2007.

has enabled them to create in Brazil and elsewhere a unique multiracial society'.²⁵ This idea, disseminated during the late colonial period, in which Portugal was suffering international pressure to decolonise its territories, is still widespread these days. Neto, by instance, identifies Portugal as 'a society that remains culturally homogeneous in spite of her increasing migrant population' (Neto 2002: 20). The belief in lusotropicology has, since the 1974 revolution, been questioned by Portuguese historians and associated with the purely economical interests of the Portuguese government in maintaining the colonial empire.

As a result of different perceptions of immigration, whereas in France there is an acknowledged failure of integration policies (Noiriel 2007: 527; Silverman 1991: 338); in Portugal, a contradiction remains between an seeming tolerance and concrete racial discrimination,²⁶ which is transferred to indirect areas such as housing and education (Eaton 1998: 58).

Gorodzeisky compared the percentage of pro-admission, total exclusionist and racial exclusionist populations in Europe and established that, unlike what lusotropicology has led to believe, there is a smaller percentage of pro-admission population in Portugal (31%) than in France (53%). In addition, total exclusionists are greater in Portugal (57%) than in France (33%). Only with reference to racial exclusionists is the percentage smaller in Portugal (7%) than in France (13%) (Gorodzeisky 2009: 409). These data strongly contradict, however, the official Migration Integration Index, which identifies in France the most unfavourable conditions for family reunion and labour market access and in Portugal the most supportive country in the EU-27 regarding labour market access (90%) and anti-discrimination laws (87%).²⁷

The growing visibility of immigrants in schools and jobs during the past few decades, the relationship to a colonial past, and the association of the immigrant community to low working class jobs and ghettoisation have led to a stigmatisation that crosses over to the public sphere. In effect, as Ankica Kosic and Karen Phalet concluded, 'The results of

²⁵ Richard J. Hammond, 'Race Attitudes and Policies in the Portuguese Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries', *Race Class*, 9 (1967), 205-216 (p.205).

²⁶ Martin Eaton, 'Foreign residents and illegal immigrants in Portugal', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22 (1998), 49-66 (p.57).

²⁷ Migration Integration Index, <www.integrationindex.eu> [accessed 30 March 2010].

public opinion polls, conducted regularly in the European Union, show a high percentage of people having negative attitudes towards immigrants'.²⁸ In an interview in 1988, Robert Solé, at the time chief-editor of the society section of *Le Monde*, acknowledged that the immigrant was often perceived as either an aggressor or as a victim, but never as a neutral member of the community.²⁹

As demonstrated above, the different French and Portuguese colonial histories, decolonisation processes and contemporary models of integration have greatly contributed to the creation of the immigrant imagined community. There is, accordingly, a more evident tendency to the negative perception of the immigrant in France than in Portugal, although a more subtle process of discrimination and employment takes place in the latter. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that even though history and contemporary policies of inclusion and exclusion provide a definite influence in the making of identities, technology has recently produced another source of education and, therefore, of authority – the media.

1.2 The media as a maker of identities

Among the six functions assigned to the media in *Médias: Introduction à la presse, la radio et la télévision*, is the transmission of culture, defined as, 'un amalgame de mythes, de traditions, de valeurs, de principes qui donne à l'individu une identité ethnique ou nationale'.³⁰ It is this individual identity that, transmitted by the media to a community,³¹ adds to the making of the national imagined community, as described by Anderson.

²⁸ Ankica Kosic and Karen Phalet, 'Ethnic categorization of immigrants: the role of the prejudice, perceived acculturation strategies and group size', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30 (2006), 769-782 (p.770).

²⁹ Robert Solé, 'Le journaliste et l'immigration', *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 4 (1988), 157-166 (p.159).

³⁰ *Médias: Introduction à la presse, la radio et la télévision*, ed. by Claude-Jean Bertrand (Paris: Ellipsis, 1995), pp.31-35. [an amalgamation of myths, traditions, values, principles that present the individual with an ethnic or national identity]. My translation.

³¹ Patrick Charadeau, *Le discours d'information médiatique: la construction du miroir social* (Paris: Nathan, 1997), p.34.

Moreover, with the growing impact of the media, the discourse has moved from a purely representational function to an event, that is, an instrument of construction of history.³²

Hargreaves and McKinney defended that, 'The identity of an individual depends partly on his inner personality and partly on the social group with whom he is associated' (*Post-Colonial Cultures* 1997: 31). In this sense, the media have become the means of generalising the individual into the collective, by reproducing simplified and stereotyped identities. To our study, it is of particular relevance the word "immigrant". "Immigrant" has recently become representative of a heterogeneous group of people, despite the individual diversity found within the same group (Laachir 2002: 291; Noiriel 2007: 471).

The media can also be associated with two aspects of immigration focused on earlier: visibility and stigmatisation. On the one hand, the media increase the social visibility of the immigrant community by conveying the idea of a large group of outsiders. This is particularly significant in view of the fact that it is only when immigrants are identified as a large group that they become perceived as a threat by national members (Eaton 1998: 61; Gorodzeisky 2009: 404). On the other hand, the media contribute to the fabrication of a simplified collective representation which, regardless of its actual relation to reality, activates and reinforces prejudice.³³ Accordingly, more than representing reality, the media produce opinions and construct social discourse.³⁴

The production of a symbolic field that shapes attitudes and produces specific images of individuals and collectives (Cádima 2003: 5-6) has established the media as an important maker of the "symbolic immigration" (Sanchez-Mazas 2004: 216). This is particularly relevant with reference to the press, among other written forms of media, seeing as it can provide the reader with a lasting knowledge that the oral media lack (Charadeau 1997: 126). In effect, when the sociologist Robert E. Park dismisses the news as short-lived,³⁵ he forgets to take into consideration the impact of written knowledge on the shaping of

³² Tzvetan Todorov, *Nous et les autres: la réflexion française sur la diversité humaine* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1989), p.13.

³³ Patrick Champagne, 'La construction médiatique des "malaises sociaux"', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 90 (1991), 64-76 (p.65).

³⁴ Rui Francisco Cádima, *Representações (imagens) dos imigrantes e das minorias étnicas na imprensa* (Lisboa: Obercom, 2003), p.25.

³⁵ Robert E. Park, 'As notícias como uma forma de conhecimento: um capítulo na sociologia do conhecimento', in *Comunicação e Sociedade: os efeitos sociais dos meios de comunicação de massa*, ed. by João Pissara Esteves (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2002), pp.35-48 (p.40).

opinions. As regards the negative stigmatisation of immigration, most of this impact comes from the news dealing with economy and education. Noiriel states:

Tous nos discours sont imbibés de jugements normatifs qui classent et hiérarchisent les individus selon deux principaux critères: le niveau de ressources économiques et le niveau d'études. [...] Les immigrants ayant presque toujours fait partie des groupes les plus défavorisés, on ne peut donc pas être surpris qu'ils aient constamment fait l'objet des représentations négatives.³⁶ (Noiriel 2007: 686-7)

It is also worth noting that the impact of the media relates not only to the type of media, its vocabulary and its public, but also to the continuous repetition of the same information:

A partir du moment où les informations se répètent, s'inscrivent dans une certaine cohérence, et que la plupart des médias vont dans le même sens, les effets minimaux cumulés peuvent engendrer des transformations de grand ampleur.³⁷ (*Médias* 1995: 184)

In view of the fact that the present study will focus on images portrayed by the press to analyse the impact of the media in the construction of the immigrant imagined community, it seems adequate to identify five problems related to the media representation: firstly, the human aspect of the media constructions, that is to say, the construction of a community by other individuals who are seldom impartial in their views;³⁸ secondly, the recurring presentation of news without an appropriate contextualisation so as to make the story intelligible to a greater audience (Correia 2007: 149); thirdly, the lack of transparency in language, which might lead to ambiguities and misunderstandings (Charadeau 1997: 9); fourthly, the gap between the event and its representation, that is, between the veracity and the constructed event;³⁹ and finally the lack of control that those who are represented have over their own represented image (Champagne 1991: 68).

³⁶ [All of our speeches are soaked in normative judgements that classify and organise individuals into hierarchies according to two main criteria: the level of economic resources and the level of education. (...) Immigrants, having almost always been an underprivileged group, we cannot then be surprised that they are constantly the target of negative representations]. My translation.

³⁷ [From the moment when information is repeated, is in line with a certain coherence, and that the majority of the media go towards the same direction, the minimum accumulated effects can generate transformations at a large scale]. My translation.

³⁸ Siegfried Schmidt, 'Les medias, instruments quotidiens de construction de la réalité', in *Les médias et leur public en France et en Allemagne*, ed. by Pierre Albert et al. (Paris: Panthéon-Asas, 2003), pp.93-109 (p.95).

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'identité et la représentation', in *Langage et Pouvoir Symbolique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2001), pp.281-292 (p.290).

The impact of information in the public, regardless of its accuracy, depends on several factors: on the one hand, on the type of media and on the frequency of repetition of the information, as addressed earlier; on the other hand, on the public that, targeted or not by the journalist, absorbs the information provided and employs it, even if at different levels, in the making of identities (Correia 2007: 137). Concerning the latter, Charadeau defends that the public is affected by both the drama effect and the stereotypes put forward in the information (Charadeau 1997: 19), and by the knowledge on the subject that it holds prior to the receiving the information. As a result, the lack of knowledge is proportional to the impact of the information presented, that is to say, the smaller the background knowledge on the topic, the greater the influence (Charadeau 1997: 8). Correia also alerts to the passivity of the public regarding the reception of information (Correia 2007: 132).

Adolescence, marking the period when the definition of the identity of the *self* takes place,⁴⁰ also marks the successful or unsuccessful formation of an identity balance that affects all of the subsequent developmental stages (Kroger 2004: 51). Although family and school are considered the traditional shapers of identity,⁴¹ the media have come to play an increasing role in the transmission of knowledge.⁴² What is more, the adolescent identity is shaped not only by identifying those similar to the *self* but also by identifying those who are different, other than the *self*.⁴³ The role of the media in the formation of identity in adolescents, as the next generation of policy makers, is therefore crucial to the making of the immigrant imagined community by the in-group.

The nation and its current impact on immigration are the foundations of the construction of the contemporary social identity, and therefore fundamental to any study dealing with the making of the immigrant imagined community. The role of the media in general and of the press as written knowledge in particular, is growing as regards the definition of territorial

⁴⁰ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: the balance between self and other* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p.1.

⁴¹ Geneviève Jacquinot, 'Introduction: les relations des jeunes avec les médias... Qu'en savons-nous?', in *Les Jeunes et les Médias: perspectives de la recherche dans le monde* (Paris; Budapest; Torino: L'Harmattan, 2002), pp.13-36 (p.15).

⁴² *Immigration in Post-War France: a documentary anthology*, ed. by Alec G. Hargreaves (London: Methuen, 1987), p.32.

⁴³ Christian Lagarde, *Identité, langue et nation: qu'est-ce qui se joue avec les langues?* (Canet: Trabucaire, 2008), p.58.

and social boundaries. Accordingly, there is an increasing impact on groups more susceptible of trusting all of the media's content, namely adolescents, who might not take into consideration elements beyond the sphere of the articles. The bibliographic overview presented in this chapter has influenced the hypotheses put forward and will shed a new light in the obtained results.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

2.1 Delimitation of the study

The discussion of the media as a maker of identities¹ established the underlying role that the means of communication play in the construction of the immigrant imagined community and, accordingly, the significance of an analysis which explores the manner in which individuals are depicted.² The shift in the media audience research is situated, according to Hansen et al, in the 1980s and 1990s in the direction of ‘concerns with how audiences interpret make sense of, use, interact with, and create meaning out of media content and media technologies’ (Hansen et al 1998: 259). Seeing as the media produce information with the ultimate goal of transmitting it to an audience, this study will focus mainly on the decoding process, that is, on the interpretation of the information presented.

Previous studies on the construction of the immigrant imagined community include those led by Kosic and Phalet, Rosa Cabecinhas and Lígia Amâncio, and Francisco Rui Cádima, and provide relevant starting points for the present study. Kosic and Phalet focus on the process of visual categorisation of ethnic groups³ and apply to in-group university students a 7-point Likert scale, composed of three positive and four negative emotional terms (Kosic and Phalet 2006: 275). The authors conclude that the ethnic categories more stigmatised and more often negatively portrayed in the media are more likely to be used in the ethnic categorisation of immigrants (Kosic and Phalet 2006: 772), thus reinforcing the role of the media in the construction of the social discourse.

Cabecinhas and Amâncio focus on the representation of racial and ethnic minorities in Portugal, by surveying university students,⁴ and reach two main conclusions: firstly, ethnic groups are perceived as possessing fixed traces that differentiate them from the in-group and justify their low status in society (Cabecinhas and Amâncio 2004: 8); secondly, the

¹ See Chapter 1.

² Anders Hansen *et al*, *Mass Communication Research Methods* (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 1998), p.108.

³ Classification of individuals based exclusively on physical characteristics associated with and perceived as specific to certain ethnic groups.

⁴ Rosa Cabecinhas and Lígia Amâncio, ‘Dominação e exclusão: representações sociais sobre minorias raciais e étnicas’, in *Actas do V Congresso Português de Sociologia: Sociedades Contemporâneas: Reflexividade e Acção* (Braga, 2004), pp.1-17.

out-group, that is, the racial or ethnic group, is denied the qualities most praised in Western societies, such as autonomy, individuality, competence and responsibility (Cabecinhas and Amâncio 2004: 2). These dimensions will also be considered for the present study.

Cádima focuses on the overall representation of immigrants in the press, at a content analysis level, between January 2001 and March 2002. The author concludes that if, on the one hand, minority groups have become associated, through the media, with criminality, unemployment and insecurity (Cádima 2003: 22), on the other hand, in 2001 the Portuguese media focused not only on social problems related to immigration, but also on the need for better integration policies (Cádima 2003: 24).

Bearing in mind the theoretical discussion on postcolonial immigration in France and in Portugal, and the studies carried out on the representation of the immigrant community, three hypotheses which are not mutually exclusive, have emerged:

1. Despite the similarities between French and Portuguese postcolonial immigration trends, French articles are more likely to generate a negative construction of the imagined community, possibly as a result of a more problematic decolonisation process;
2. Articles that discuss crime and education will generate a more active response in the participants than articles discussing employment, seeing as they are more closely related to adolescents;
3. Content perceived as negative will have a stronger impact than content perceived as positive and, consequently, produce a greater shift in the participant's perception of the immigrant imagined community.

The hypotheses presented above will be discussed further in light of the data analysis in Chapter 3.

In view of the relation between the vocabulary employed and its role in the social categorisation of individuals, as well as of the two aspects of the media – production and reception of information, the research methodology developed for the present study aims at comparing the discourse in the selected articles with the data gathered through the survey of a target group. Whereas the analysis of the discourse allows for an indication on how the

media reflect social issues (Hansen et al 1998: 92), survey research provides an overview of audience attitudes (Hansen et al 1998: 259). The qualitative nature of the analysis and its limitation to a relatively small survey group raises nonetheless issues concerning the generalisation of the study and its application to other groups. The present research should be understood as a case study,⁵ meant to be generalised to the theoretical propositions discussed above, and not to populations.

The corpus of the present study consists, therefore, of six articles, three from French and three from Portuguese quality newspapers,⁶ and by the questionnaires filled in by the participants subsequent to reading the articles. The employment of two different types of primary sources allows for a comparative analysis of the information presented in the article and of the information as received and interpreted by the participant.

The French articles will be classified, for analysis purposes, as articles 1-3. Article 1 (See Appendix 1), 'La dimension "ethnique" de la délinquance en chiffres', by Thierry Portes, was published by *Le Figaro* on October 15, 2007. The article compares the numbers of children of immigrants and of French national members associated with criminality and evinces the predominance of the former.⁷ Article 2 (See Appendix 2), 'Ils ont tout pour être régularisés, mais...', by Laetitia Van Eeckhout, was published by *Le Monde* on April 8, 2008. The article explores the stories of immigrants who, despite their successful employment histories in France, are nonetheless refused a permanent residence visa.⁸ Article 3 (See Appendix 3), 'L'enseignement, débouché, sans préjugés pour enfants d'immigrés', by Véronique Soulé, was published by *Libération* on January 16, 2008. The article gives an account of those with an immigrant origin who have become French teachers.⁹

The Portuguese articles will be classified, for analysis purposes, as articles 4-6. Article 4 (See Appendix 4), "Crimes cometidos pelos imigrantes não aumentaram", by Raquel Moleiro, was published by *Expresso* on October 4, 2008. The article consists of an interview to Manuel Jarmela Palos, Director-General of the Borders and Immigration

⁵ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), p.10.

⁶ See Appendices 1-6.

⁷ Thierry Portes, 'La "dimension ethnique" de la délinquance en chiffres', *Le Figaro*, 15 October 2007.

⁸ Laetitia Van Eeckhout, 'Ils ont tout pour être régularisés, mais...', *Le Monde*, 8 April 2008, p.3.

⁹ Véronique Soulé, 'L'enseignement, débouché sans préjugés pour enfants d'immigrés', *Libération*, 16 January 2008, p. 16.

Office (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras – SEF) and analyses criminality in view of immigration.¹⁰ Article 5 (See Appendix 5), ‘Rendimentos prejudicam reagrupamento familiar dos imigrantes’, by Inês Cardoso and César Santos, was published by *Jornal de Notícias* on December 29, 2008. The article analyses the issues surrounding family regrouping, taking as a starting point the story of an immigrant worker.¹¹ Finally, Article 6 (See Appendix 6), ‘Imigrantes de Lisboa chumbam duas vezes mais que em Madrid’, by Micael Pereira, was published by *Expresso* on February 6, 2010. The article describes the results of an European study on the school performance of immigrants.¹²

Every article used was published between 2007 and 2010 so as to maintain, within possible, its relevance and impact in the participant. In addition, some of the articles paragraphs were excluded from the version presented to the participant due to the limited time frame of analysis. Nonetheless, no content directly related to the immigrant community was removed.

2.2 Discourse Analysis Methodology

As discussed above, the six selected articles constitute a part of the primary corpus. As regards the choice of newspapers and articles, two aspects must be underlined: firstly, all of the newspapers chosen are perceived by the public as quality newspapers, that is, as providers of reliable information (*Médias* 1995: 78). In effect, all of the newspapers were founded during the 20th century except for *Le Figaro*, founded in 1826, and three out of the five rank in the top three national daily newspapers – *Le Figaro*, second-largest daily newspaper in France, *Le Monde*, third-largest daily newspaper in France (*Médias* 1995: 78), and *Jornal de Notícias*, second-largest daily newspaper in Portugal (*Médias* 1995: 297). The large amount of public reached by these newspapers is significant in terms of the long-term influence of the articles in the public discourse.

¹⁰ Raquel Moleiro, “Crimes cometidos pelos imigrantes não aumentaram”, *Expresso*, 4 October 2008, p. 18.

¹¹ Inês Cardoso and César Santos, ‘Rendimentos familiares prejudicam reagrupamento familiar dos imigrantes’, *Jornal de Notícias*, 29 December 2008.

¹² Micael Pereira, ‘Imigrantes de Lisboa chumbam duas vezes mais que em Madrid’, *Expresso*, 6 February 2010, p.26.

Secondly, the articles were chosen in accordance with the topic, that is, in order to ensure the existence of parallel articles in the two languages dealing with the three topics selected— criminality, employment, and education. All of these are related to immigrant visibility fields. The article style varies from studies to interviews and reportages.¹³

As regards the authors of the articles, it is relevant to consider that the majority, namely Thierry Portes,¹⁴ Laetitia Van Eeekhout,¹⁵ Véronique Soulé,¹⁶ and Raquel Moleiro¹⁷ write frequently about the topics dealt with in the selected articles, that is, foreign policy, immigration, integration, and education. Only Inês Cardoso, César Santos¹⁸ and Micael Pereira¹⁹ seem to show no particular article trend. The author's knowledge of the theme presented greatly influences the light in which the issues are debated. Nevertheless, this specific field of media research will not be directly addressed in this study.

Concerning the analysis of the articles, the study will take the word as a unit of analysis and the article as a unit of context. Hansen et al identifies a division of vocabulary in three categories: reinforcing, deflating and straight (Hansen et al 1998: 115). To the present study, these categories have been adapted to praising, deflating and neutral. In addition, a division has been made between cultural and socio-economical traits as well as between active and passive actions. These will admit a closer look at the traits enhanced in the articles. Accordingly, the vocabulary present in both the articles and the questionnaires will be analysed according to the following categories:

- Cultural traits: Characteristics related to cultural traits, either similar or different to those of the in-group culture (e.g. hope);
- Socio-economical traits: Features closely related to the role of the immigrant in society, both socially and economically (e.g. working-class);
- Active actions: Actions performed by the immigrant (e.g. work);

¹³ These style divisions can also be found in Cádima, p.38.

¹⁴ *Le Figaro*, <www.lefigaro.fr> [accessed 8 May 2010].

¹⁵ *Le Monde*, <www.lemonde.fr> [accessed 8 May 2010].

¹⁶ *Libération*, <www.liberation.fr> [accessed 8 May 2010].

¹⁷ *Expresso*, <impresa.newspaperdirect.com> [accessed 8 May 2010].

¹⁸ *Jornal de Notícias*, <jn.sapo.pt>, [accessed 8 May 2010].

¹⁹ *Expresso*, <impresa.newspaperdirect.com> [accessed 8 May 2010].

- Passive Actions: Actions suffered by the immigrant (e.g. exclusion);
- Praising: Attributes/actions that promote the similarities and inclusion between the out-group and the in-group members and identify in the out-group features praised in Western societies (e.g. prestigious);
- Deflating: Attributes/actions that promote differences and exclusion between the out-group and the in-group members and identify in the out-group features condemned in Western societies (e.g. delinquent);
- Neutral: Attributes/actions that state facts, neither promoting nor deflating the out-group in comparison to the in-group (e.g. immigrant).

The vocabulary in these categories will be analysed in relation to its frequency, as carried out by Cabecinhas and Amâncio. In view of the fact that the focus of the present study is on the reception and interpretation of the content information, the layout will not be considered for analysis purposes. In effect, the participants were introduced articles with a standardised layout.

2.3 Focus Group Methodology

In order to identify the impact of the articles on the participants, a questionnaire was constructed by the researcher (See Appendix 7), and divided into three main sections: a) general information on the participant and his/her reading habits; section b) interpretation of the article; and section c) suggestions to the problem presented. Each of these sections comprised a group of closed and open questions²⁰ – closed questions, on the one hand, despite limiting the input of rich information, allow an easier statistical treatment and were used for quantitative comparisons of reading habits between survey groups, levels of trust in the newspaper and article, and levels of content influence. Open questions, on the other hand, permitted a better understanding of the participant's interpretation of the information presented, by allowing rich data input. No list of attributes was supplied in advance to the participant so as to encourage the participant to freely contribute with his/her own

²⁰ All of the methodology concerning questionnaires was drawn from Manuela Magalhães Hill and Andrew Hill, *Investigação por Questionário* (Lisboa, Edições Sílabo, 2002).

vocabulary. In effect, considering the aims of the present research, the qualitative method of analysis was preferred to the quantitative method,²¹ seeing as it admits the identification of processes socially constructed by the actor, and the gathering of rich and detailed data.²² Nonetheless, quantitative methods are used whenever they provide a better identification of the similarities and differences among the data.

The survey groups in France and in Portugal consisted of adolescents in their last year of high school, aged 18-21, with some awareness of and contact with the immigrant population, allowing a wider space for reflection. This aspect was ensured by surveying groups in Paris and Lisbon, districts with a greater percentage of immigrants in comparison with the total population (Guibentif 1996: 124; Pires 1999: 203). The establishment of a parallel milieu has generated a matched sample which, despite not being generalised to the overall population, accepts a direct comparison between the two groups. Group 1 (G1) consists of 28 participants from France, and Group 2 (G2) consists of 35 participants from Portugal, in a total of 63 participants. The relatively small size of the sample is due to the qualitative nature of the analysis.

The participants were recruited through their educational institutions, and a Letter to the Schools and a Participant Information Sheet were made available, according to the guidelines established by the university's Ethics Committee.²³ The questionnaire was applied to the surveyed group in a classroom setting, under the supervision of a teacher, and was preceded by an informative section on the rights of the participant, namely the voluntary nature of the participation and the right to abandon the study at any point. The researcher introduced both the study and her institution, defined the goal of the research and the role of the participant. Each participant was given a single article and a limited timeframe of one hour to read the article and fill in the questionnaire. The participant was also given the opportunity to ask questions. The discussion of the study with the participants was designed to aid the establishment of a safe setting, in which anxiety and the Hawthorne effect²⁴ would be as low as possible.

²¹ Alan Bryman, *Quantity and Quality in Social Research* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995), p.94.

²² Problems frequently associated with the qualitative method include the need for a greater interpretation of the data by the researcher, in view of the fact that beliefs and attitudes are complex and difficult to isolate.

²³ See Appendix 8.

²⁴ The Hawthorne effect consists on a form of reactivity, that is, an alteration of the participant's behaviour when he/she is aware that he/she is being studied.

Seeing as the questionnaires will provide an inside perspective on the participant's reading and interpretation of the article, the following variables were considered in the analysis: independent variables – topic of the article (criminality, employment, education) and cultural background (French, Portuguese); dependent variable – the in-group construction of the immigrant imagined community; controlled variables – nationality (French, Portuguese), mother tongue (French, Portuguese), age (18-21) and milieu.

The data analysis in Chapter 3 will be discussed in two sections: the first section will deal with the similarities and differences in interpretation according to the first independent variable, that is, the topic of the article, and will discuss the influence of the topic in the production of generalisations. The second section will deal with the similarities and differences in interpretation according to the second independent variable, that is, the cultural background of the participant, and discuss the influence of culture in notions of fairness and trust in the sources. Both sections will focus, above all, on the image constructed by the participant of the immigrant community, by comparing the vocabulary drawn from the article and the vocabulary introduced by the participant in the questionnaires. For relevance purposes, only vocabulary drawn with a frequency superior to 1 was considered. We will also explore the level of influence of the article on the participant's perspective and his/her suggestions to the resolution of the problem presented.

The research methodology, as described above, intends to facilitate the detection of patterns in the making of the immigrant imagined community, on the basis of the topic of the article and cultural differences. In addition, it will provide an insight to the type of sources most valued by the participant, as well as the influence of the overall perception of the article (positive, negative or neutral) in the participant's perspective of the immigrant.

Chapter 3: Findings and Discussion

The immigration phenomenon that followed the end of colonialism and the role of the media in society, as a maker of identities highlight the relevance of reception studies focused on the impact of the mass media on adolescents, the policy makers of the future. A method of research was developed as described in Chapter 2 so as to verify the hypotheses that emerged from the literature review. The present chapter will analyse the key attributes and actions of the immigrant community as depicted in the articles and as interpreted by the survey group, and it will be divided in two sections: section 3.1 will discuss the data findings according to the topic of the articles. These will be considered in three thematic groups – criminality (Articles 1 and 4), employment (Articles 2 and 5) and education (Articles 3 and 6). The questionnaires will be analysed in accordance with the article read by the participant (Group A, Group B, and Group C, respectively). In addition to the analysis of the image constructed by the participants, section 3.1 will discuss the identification of the theme, variations in the perception of objectivity, production of suggestions, and impact levels. Section 3.2 will discuss the findings according to the cultural background of the articles and participants, that is, French (Articles 1-3; Group 1) and Portuguese (Articles 4-6; Group 2). In addition, it will address the role of the cultural background in the identification of the sources, variations in the perception of objectivity, the production of suggestions, and impact levels. For the complete tables of the discussed vocabulary and the vocabulary in the original language refer to Appendices 9-11 and Appendix 12, respectively.

3.1 Findings and Discussion according to the topic of the article

The survey group is, for analysis purposes according to the topic of the article, divided into three sub-groups: Group A = 21 participants (m=2; f=19) and consists of the participants who read articles 1 and 3; Group B = 25 participants (m=12; f=13) and consists of the participants who read articles 2 and 5; Group C = 17 participants (m=10; f=7) and consists of the participants who read articles 3 and 6.

3.1.1 Cultural and Socio-economical attributes

In accordance with the key concepts explored in Chapter 2, the data tables were divided in three main columns: the first column comprises the vocabulary in the article relevant to the construction of the immigrant imagined community, the second column identifies its frequency in the article, and the third column identifies its frequency as used by the participants in order to characterise the immigrant group in Questions 5 and 7 of the section b) of the questionnaire¹. In the analyses of socio-economical attributes, a sub-column was added, to identify frequency percentages. Tables 1 and 2 display, respectively, the cultural and socio-economical attributes in criminality articles, respectively.

Cultural Attributes	Articles 1/4	Group A
<i>Deflating</i>		
Snobbery	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Ethnic	2	2

Table 1- Cultural attributes in criminality articles

Socio-Economical Attributes	Articles ¼		Group A	
	N	%	n	%
<i>Praising</i>				
Legal	1	1.22%	6	6.00%
<i>Deflating</i>				
Of foreign origin ²	6	7.32%		
Foreigner	5	6.10%	8	8.00%
Criminality	4	4.88%	11	11.00%
Criminal background	4	4.88%	3	3.00%
SEF (Borders and Immigration Office)	4	4.88%	2	2.00%
Delinquent	4	4.88%	6	6.00%
Delinquency	3	3.66%	3	3.00%
Illegal	3	3.66%	15	15.00%
Born abroad	2	2.44%		
Prison	2	2.44%	3	3.00%
Criminal record	2	2.44%		

¹ See Appendix 7.

² Even though the notion of “foreigner” and derivate terms raise an interpretation problem, they were here classified as deflating, since they identify the immigrant as an outsider, i.e., as a member external to the in-group.

Workman	2	2.44%		
French people born from foreign parents	1	1.22%		
Born outside the Hexagon	1	1.22%		
Children of foreigners	1	1.22%		
Non-integrated citizen	1	1.22%	2	2.00%
Ghettoisation	1	1.22%	4	4.00%
Poverty	1	1.22%	4	4.00%
Drug smugglers	1	1.22%	3	3.00%
Alcoholic	1	1.22%		
Handicap	1	1.22%		
Inactive	1	1.22%		
<i>Neutral</i>				
Youth	8	9.76%	2	2.00%
Immigration	3	3.66%		
Overrepresentation	3	3.66%	2	2.00%
Immigrant	2	2.44%	9	9.00%
Brazilian	2	2.44%	2	2.00%
From the Maghreb	2	2.44%	4	4.00%
Individual	2	2.44%		
Court	2	2.44%	3	3.00%
Family	2	2.44%		
Children of Immigrants	1	1.22%		
Of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin	1	1.22%	8	8.00%
Employees	1	1.22%		
Neighbourhood	1	1.22%		
TOTAL	82	100%	100	100%

Table 2- Socio-economical attributes in criminality articles

As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the references made to socio-economical attributes are in a much greater number than the references made to cultural attributes. Attributes are predominantly deflating (62.2%) and neutral (36.6%) with an evident absence of praising attributes. Although this corresponds to the main idea expressed in Article 1, it opposes the goal of Article 4, which is to dissociate the immigrant from criminality. The majority of the deflating vocabulary in these articles is, in effect, related to either the immigrant as an outsider – “of foreign origin”, “foreigner”, “illegal” – or to crime – “criminality”, “criminal background”, “delinquent”. The connotation of “illegal”, “delinquent” and “drug smugglers”, among others, suggests that the immigrant is fully responsible for criminality,

thus establishing and accentuating the differences between “innocent” in-group and “guilty” out-group members. In addition, neutral vocabulary emphasises the link between youth and criminality, and the role played by specific foreign origins, namely North African and Brazilian. The reference to youth suggests a connection to the increasing number of second-generation immigrants and to the contemporary postcolonial immigration trends in France and Portugal.³ This is particularly evident in the French case where the *beurs* have been associated with the violence in the suburbs, and their relation to delinquency has been strengthened (Derderian 2004: 12).

The vocabulary retained by the participants is, similarly to that in articles, mostly socio-economical and deflating, the latter comprising 64% of the total drawn attributes. In effect, even though “legal” was referred to six times, an additional 4.66% to its incidence in the articles, “illegal” was referred to a total of fifteen times, an additional 11.34%, thus revealing a greater impact of negative over positive representations. “Criminality” (11%) and “foreigner” (6%) were the second and third most identified deflating attributes, and “immigrant” (9%) the most identified neutral attribute, suggesting that the immigrant is perceived chiefly within the topic frame of the articles. Specific national origins were also mentioned a total of fourteen times, composing 14% of the referred attributes, thus emphasising the role of postcolonial immigration to the overall construction of the immigrant representation (Gafaiti 2003: p.204). Attributes related to the immigrant’s role within a community, such as “youth” and “family”, and activities – “workman”, “drug smugglers” and “employees” – were scarcely or not at all identified by the participants as key attributes. In fact, “youth” only comprised 2% of the drawn vocabulary, despite constituting 9.76% of the articles’ attributes. This suggests that these articles move focus from the role of the immigrant as a member of a community, to the traits that identify him/her as a threat.

The articles addressing employment also present a predominant socio-economical vocabulary, as indicated by Tables 3 and 4. There is, however, a focus on neutral (78%) and praising (23%) vocabularies, which can be related to two factors: on the one hand, the narration of a specific chain of events (Article 2) and of a routine (Article 5); on the other hand, a direct exposure of the immigrant’s viewpoint, which enhances his/her qualities. In

³ Abdelkader Belbahri, *Immigration et Situations Postcoloniales; le cas des Maghrébins en France* (Paris: L’Harmattan, C.I.E.M.I., 1987), p.103.

these articles, there is a cultural perspective which stresses feelings and emotions, such as “hope”, “longing” and “crunch in the chest”, as well as the immigrant as a legitimate member of the host society – “contract”, “legal”, “regularisation”. There is also an emphasis on neutral administration-related vocabulary namely “prefecture”, “residence permit” and “administration”. The deflating socio-economical attributes make reference to the Borders and Immigration Office (SEF) and Judge of civil liberties and of detention (JLD) indicating a parallel with policies of integration and control (Silverman 1992: 82-3).

Cultural Attributes	Articles 2/5	Group B
<i>Praising</i>		
Hope	1	
Longing	1	
Smothering voice	1	
Discreet	1	
Crunch in the chest	1	
Straightforward	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Non-existent	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Language	1	

Table 3- Cultural attributes in employment articles

Socio-Economical Attributes	Articles 2/5		Group B	
	N	%	n	%
<i>Praising</i>				
Contract	3	5.00%	4	4.82%
Legal	2	3.33%	2	2.41%
Regularisation	1	1.67%	5	6.02%
Integration	1	1.67%	2	2.41%
Valued workers	1	1.67%	6	7.23%
<i>Deflating</i>				
Borders and Immigration Office (SEF)	2	3.33%		
Judge of civil liberties and of detention (JLD)	1	1.67%	3	3.61%
Red tape	1	1.67%		
Minimum Wage	1	1.67%		
<i>Neutral</i>				
Prefecture	6	10.00%	5	6.02%
Immigrant	5	8.33%		

Residence permit	5	8.33%	9	10.84%
Income	5	8.33%	9	10.84%
Regrouping	4	6.67%	4	4.82%
Administration	3	5.00%	3	3.61%
Subsistence	3	5.00%	3	3.61%
National Agency of Reception to Foreigners and Migrations (ANAEM)	2	3.33%	4	4.82%
Court	2	3.33%	4	4.82%
Documents	2	3.33%	3	3.61%
Cambodian	2	3.33%	2	2.41%
Cook	2	3.33%		
Immigration	1	1.67%	2	2.41%
Newly arrived immigrant	1	1.67%	2	2.41%
Family	1	1.67%	8	9.64%
Visa	1	1.67%	3	3.61%
Mexican	1	1.67%		
Malian	1	1.67%		
TOTAL	60	100%	83	100%

Table 4- Socio-economical attributes in employment articles

The vocabulary retained by the participants is, in relation to employment articles, exclusively socio-economical, despite the feelings and emotions exposed. In effect, most participants link the immigrant to important visibility areas through “family”, “residence permit” and “income” (over 30% of the total vocabulary drawn), or to judicial institutions such as the “JLD”, “ANAEM” and “court”. Apart from “family” – a 7.97% increase, these choices are, nonetheless, consistent with the vocabulary rate of incidence in the articles. By contrast, praising vocabulary emphasises a special interest in “valued workers” and “regularisation”, which corresponds to a nearly 10% total increase in praising vocabulary compared to the rate of incidence in the articles. Furthermore, these reveal the weight of legal and professional insertion to the positive image of the immigrant.

Similarly to employment articles, articles on education employ both cultural and socio-economical attributes, the majority belonging, nevertheless, to the latter, as indicated by Tables 5 and 6. The use of praising, deflating and neutral socio-economical vocabulary is relatively balanced. At a cultural level, there is a focus either on the immigrant’s ability to communicate – “communication”, “Portuguese language” –, or in his/her relationship

through difference with the host society – “they”, “different”, revealing opposite sides of the perception of the immigrant.

Cultural Attributes	Articles 3/6	Group C
<i>Praising</i>		
Communication	2	3
Pure-breed French	1	
Special responsibility	1	
Happy	1	
Pride	1	3
Portuguese language	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
They	18	
Different	2	2
Them	1	
The <i>beur</i> on call ⁴	1	
Cliché	1	2
Powerlessness	1	
Other languages and dialects	1	2
<i>Neutral</i>		
Secular Values	1	

Table 5- Cultural attributes in education articles

As to socio-economical attributes, there is, as it would be expected, a large number of vocabulary associated with the topic of the article through “school”, “teacher” and “student”, among others. Additionally, there is a focus on immigrant communities – “neighbourhood”, “youth” –, and on the role of origins – “coming from immigration”, “descendant from immigrants”, “from the Maghreb”. This suggests that, as regards education, the immigrant is often perceived, as in criminality articles, not only in terms of his/her origins, but also in terms of the communities in which he/she is inserted, either in relation to his/her home or his/her host country.

Socio-Economical Attributes	Articles 3/6		Group C	
	n	%	n	%
<i>Praising</i>				
School	7	10.45%	2	4.00%

⁴ In the article – see Appendix 3 – “the *beur* on call” refers to the responsibility that North African teachers are expected to have towards North African students, due to their alleged similar cultural background.

Teacher	5	7.46%		
Evolution	2	2.99%	2	4.00%
Prestigious	1	1.49%		
Accomplished products	1	1.49%		
Integration	1	1.49%		
Social promotion	1	1.49%	2	4.00%
Headmaster	1	1.49%		
Deputy director	1	1.49%		
Adviser	1	1.49%		
<i>Deflating</i>				
Of foreign nationality	1	1.49%		
Children of foreigners	1	1.49%		
Small jobs	1	1.49%		
Working-class	1	1.49%		
Workman	1	1.49%		
Difficulties	1	1.49%	6	12.00%
School failure	1	1.49%		
Critical	1	1.49%		
Problematic	1	1.49%	5	10.00%
Discrimination	1	1.49%	3	6.00%
Inequality	1	1.49%		
<i>Neutral</i>				
Neighbourhood	8	11.94%	7	14.00%
Youth	7	10.45%	3	6.00%
Coming from immigration	4	5.97%	7	14.00%
Descendant from immigrants	3	4.48%		
Immigrant	2	2.99%	7	14.00%
From the Maghreb	2	2.99%	6	12.00%
Children of immigrants	2	2.99%		
Student	2	2.99%		
Second generation immigrants	1	1.49%		
From Algeria	1	1.49%		
Family	1	1.49%		
Merchant	1	1.49%		
Deliverer	1	1.49%		
TOTAL	67	100%	50	100%

Table 6- Socio-economical attributes in education articles

The vocabulary drawn by the participants to characterise the immigrant community is both cultural and socio-economical. The participants identified “communication” and “pride” as relevant cultural praising attributes, and “different”, “other languages and dialects”, and “cliché” as relevant cultural deflating attributes, once more highlighting opposite poles of representation. With reference to socio-economical attributes, the focus is clearly on neutral vocabulary, also enhanced by the article, namely “neighbourhoods”, “coming from immigration”, “immigrant”, and “from the Maghreb”. The latter three attributes also reveal a discrepancy between the rate of occurrence in the article – average 3% - and the impact on the participants – average 13%. The connotation of these attributes, which strongly emphasise the origins of the immigrant, indicates that the in-group members perceive the immigrant primarily as a member external to the host community. This is emphasised by the large amount of deflating vocabulary drawn, particularly “difficulties” (12%) and “problematic” (10%), despite their low frequency in the article (average 1.5%). Despite the division in opinions as to what attributes characterise the immigrant community, there is a clear overall consensus indicated by the similarities in the vocabulary drawn.

Overall, socio-economical traits are predominant in relation to cultural traits, which by contrast are only referred to in the articles spontaneously. There is, nonetheless, a greater balance between cultural and socio-economical vocabulary in the articles dealing with employment and education than in the articles addressing criminality. Physical traits, often associated with the notion of race in opposition to that of ethnic group (Cabecinhas and Amâncio 2004: 3), are not referred to in the articles or by the participants, hence being excluded from the analysis.

Criminality articles also show a relevant absence of praising attributes, even though deflating and neutral vocabularies are predominant in all the articles. Whereas deflating attributes are related to the role of the immigrant as an outsider, neutral attributes are frequently connected to the topic of the article and to the origins of the immigrant. Finally, as regards the vocabulary drawn by the participants, the focus is clearly on neutral and deflating vocabularies, regardless of their frequency on the articles. These findings suggest that impact is not proportionally related to the rate of occurrence of vocabulary in the text, but rather related to the effect of the type of vocabulary on the reader.

3.1.2 Active and Passive actions

In addition to cultural and socio-economical attributes, specific actions are also associated with the immigrant. These are divided, for analysis purposes, in ‘active’, when performed by the immigrant, and ‘passive’ actions, when suffered by the immigrant. Table 7 displays the actions linked to the immigrant in the articles looking at criminality.

Active Actions	Articles 1/4	Group A
<i>Deflating</i>		
Crimes	4	3
Serious offence	3	
Homicide	3	
Robbery	3	
Commit	3	
Offence	2	
Violence	2	
Drug dealing	1	6
Absence	1	
Escape	1	
Repeat a year	1	
Passive Actions	Articles 1/4	Group A
<i>Deflating</i>		
Arrested	3	
Expelled	2	
Caught	1	
Detected	1	
Identification	1	
Judged	1	
Excluded	1	

Table 7- Actions in criminality articles

As shown above, active actions are prevalent in relation to passive actions, both being, however, exclusively deflating. The majority of active actions are, in fact, associated with crimes committed, namely “serious offence”, “homicide”, and “robbery”, among others. The majority of the passive actions are, correspondingly, related to the apprehension of criminals – “arrested”, “expelled”. The single two exceptions are “judged” and “excluded”, which imply a marginalisation of the immigrant. The hegemony of deflating attributes, which corresponds to the close association between immigration and criminality in Article 1, contradicts the overall point of Article 4. In effect, even though Article 4 intends to

communicate a positive image of immigration, it fails to establish a total dissociation with criminality, thus contributing to an overall deflating perspective, which can be found in the two single actions retained by the participants – “drug dealing” and “crimes”.

Employment articles display a greater diversity in vocabulary and, as illustrated by Table 8, make use of praising, deflating and neutral vocabulary. Active actions are predominant and focus praising and neutral vocabulary, which is chiefly used to characterise the daily routine of the immigrant – “wait”, “produce”, “appear” –, and to indicate the adaptation effort to the host country – “work”, “master”, and “learn”. Passive actions, on the other hand, focus on deflating vocabulary that point towards the legal difficulties suffered by immigrants – “arrested”, “taken into custody”. These lexis choices reflect the narrative tone of the true-life stories presented. In fact, the use of a personal viewpoint, with direct quotations from the immigrant, establishes a greater contrast between the immigrant, who makes a cultural and legal effort to adapt, and the governmental institutions, which create problems to this integration.

Active Actions	Articles 2/5	Group B
<i>Praising</i>		
Work	4	6
Master	1	
Learn	1	
Know	1	
Achieve	1	
Confess	1	
Declare	1	
Not to doubt	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Quit	1	2
Absence	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Wait	3	
To produce (law)	2	
To appear (law)	1	
Arrive	1	
Come back	1	
Fill in	1	
Obtain	1	
Live	1	2
Reside	1	

Passive Actions	Articles 2/5	Group B
<i>Praising</i>		
Freed	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Arrested	1	
Taken into custody	1	
Not declared	1	
Refused	1	
Laid off	1	
Conquered	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Transferred	1	
Informed	1	

Table 8- Actions in employment articles

As regards the content drawn by the participant, it is reduced to three actions – “work”, “quit”, and “live, the first two being evocative of a dual representation of the constructed immigrant imagined community. The first identifies the immigrant as a productive member of society, the second points to the immigrant as a failure. The low rate of occurrences, however, does not allow for definite conclusions.

In addition to the high proportion of active over passive actions in Articles 3 and 6, Table 9 indicates that actions are primarily praising and deflating, with an evident deficiency of neutral elements. This can be explained by the fact that, despite consisting of research reports, there is a clear tendency to either praise (Article 3) or disapprove of (Article 6) the immigrant. This is in line with the way immigrants are commonly perceived, leading to an either positive or negative constructed imagined community.

Active Actions	Articles 3/6	Group C
<i>Praising</i>		
Teach	4	5
Try	1	
Choose	1	
Achieve	1	
Be interested in	1	
Dream	1	
Believe	1	
Invest	1	
Support	1	

<i>Deflating</i>		
Fail	4	7
Disenchant	1	
Not to talk	1	
Not to write	1	
Grope about	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Come	2	
Prefer	1	
Passive Actions	Articles 3/6	Group C
<i>Praising</i>		
Blended in	1	
Not distinguished	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Skinned alive	1	3
Discriminated	1	7

Table 9- Actions in education articles

Praising actions focus, for instance, on the abilities to “teach”, “achieve”, and “invest”, and on integration – “blended in”, “not distinguished”. Deflating actions, on the other hand, focus on failure – “fail”, “disenchant” –, and on marginalisation “skinned alive”, “discriminated”. From the actions in the articles, only four were retained by the participants – “teach”, “fail”, “skinned alive” and “discriminated”. These reflect the dichotomy praising/deflating in the articles and indicate, as does the drawn socio-economical vocabulary, a division in opinions regarding what defines the immigrant.

Overall, active actions are more referred to than passive actions in the articles, indicating that the immigrant is mostly portrayed as an agent. However, there are relevant vocabulary differences between the articles of different topics. Whereas articles addressing criminality focus on an exclusively deflating lexis linked to the topic, articles dealing with employment and education show a greater balance of praising and deflating vocabulary, focusing either on integration or failure, accordingly. Although neutral actions are used to identify the socio-economical role of the immigrant in employment and education articles, they are absent from articles concerning criminality.

As to the influence of the articles in the making of the immigrant imagined community, neutral vocabulary is the most retained by the participants. This type of vocabulary focuses exclusively on the attributes and actions that define the role of the immigrant in society promoting neither inclusion nor exclusion. Although the choice of neutral vocabulary seems to indicate a preference for a straightforward categorisation, the higher rate of drawn deflating over praising vocabulary also indicates that there is a tendency to focus on the non-positive aspects of immigration. This is consistent with the vocabulary trends in the articles chosen. Accordingly, the immigrant is first and foremost perceived as an intruder and not as an integrated member of the in-group.

Nonetheless, the wide range of features presented in the articles leads to a disagreement regarding the attributes that define the immigrant imagined community in criminality and employment articles. This suggests that even though there are overall tendencies to the way the immigrant is perceived, they are not consensual among French and Portuguese in-group members. By contrast, there is a greater consensus regarding education articles, which might be related to the participants' familiarity with this field and possibly to a greater personal contact with or debate about immigrants in school. Finally, it is relevant to underline that the references made to actions are considerably low in relation to those presented in the articles. This is a generalised factor and not specific to the topic of the article, suggesting that the immigrant is perceived in terms of "fixed" attributes, and not as an agent of the in-group community.

3.1.3 Vocabulary introduced by the participants

In addition to the vocabulary drawn from the articles, Question 5 and Question 7 allowed the participants to introduce their own vocabulary to characterise the immigrant community. Table 10 displays the frequencies for vocabulary introduced by the participants in criminality articles.

Topic	Cultural Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
Criminality	Good people	2	Individualist	1		
	Smart	1				
	Serious people	1				
	Safe	1				
	Harmless	1				
	Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
			Criminal	4	Worker	1
			Dangerous	1		
			Prisoner	1		
			Thief	1		
			Stigma	1		
	Active Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
			Make unstable	1		
	Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Integrated	1	Controlled	1		
			Deported	1		
			Discriminated	1		

Table 10- Vocabulary introduced by Group A

Although there is a clear introduction of the praising attributes that lack in the articles – “good people”, “safe”, “harmless” –, the majority of the vocabulary introduced still regards deflating aspects of immigration, with a particular emphasis on “criminal”. Moreover, all of the actions introduced are deflating to the image of the immigrant, either portraying him as the offender (“deported”), or as the victim (“discriminated”). The vocabulary introduced is in line with that presented in the articles but indicates that conjectures are made from implicit facts. For instance, the immigrant is defined as dangerous on the basis of his/her link to criminality, thus indicating that the making of the immigrant imagined community can depend not only on the content of the article, but also on the how the articles are understood by the reader.

Employment articles generate the highest rates of introduced vocabulary. Praising attributes are drawn attention to, as shown in Table 11, especially in relation to cultural traits such as “fighter” and “suffering”. Although these qualities are not explicitly present

in the text, they are implied by the true-life stories of the two immigrants – Va and Ivete, hence explaining their high frequency in the characterisation of the immigrant community. In effect, despite the deflating socio-economical vocabulary introduced – “foreigners”, “illegal” –, there is a tendency to perceive the immigrant as a victim – “low salaries”, “difficulties”, “disgrace” – which is supported by the emphasis given to passive actions stressing exclusion, namely “exploited”, “discriminated”, and “marginalised”.

Topic	Cultural Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
Employment	Fighter	4	Sad	2		
	Suffering	3	Unhappy	1		
	Perseverance	1				
	Humble	1				
	Honest	1				
	Brave	1				
	With goals	1				
	Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
			Foreigner	6	Worker	6
			Illegal	3	People	2
			Difficulties	2		
			Disgrace	1		
			Precarious	1		
			Low salaries	1		
			Unemployment	1		
	Active Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
			Exploited	4		
			Ignored	2		
			Marginalised	1		
			Made inferior	1		
			Differentiated	1		
			Discriminated	1		
			Wronged	1		

Table 11- Vocabulary introduced by Group B

Education articles, by contrast, display the lowest frequency of introduced vocabulary despite the familiarity of the participants with the topic. This is in accordance with the high rate of agreement in relation to the vocabulary presented in the article (see Table 6). As shown in Table 12, the vocabulary is exclusively deflating,. However, unlike the tendency in employment articles to portray the immigrant as a victim, the immigrant is here exposed as “unmotivated”, “incompetent” and “uninterested”, despite the overall positive image given in Article 3. Only passive actions, such as “criticised” and “excluded” suggest sympathy towards the immigrant. There seems, therefore, to exist a general dichotomy between the immigrant as an offender, if active, or as a victim, if passive (Solé 1998: 159).

Topic	Cultural Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
Education			Unmotivated	1		
			Not adapted	1		
			Incompetent	1		
			Unengaged	1		
			Uninterested	1		
	Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Active Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
			Criticised	1		
			Excluded	1		

Table 12- Vocabulary introduced by Group C

In general, the vocabulary introduced by the participants can be understood to some extent as either the reflection of previous constructions of the immigrant imagined community, which are not directly expressed in the articles, or as inferred statements found in the articles. Although at a cultural level, participants introduce a majority of praising attributes, at a socio-economical level the tone is condemning. This suggests a difference between the perception of the immigrant as a cultural individual and as a socio-economical threatening element within the host community. Even though active actions are predominant in the articles, the participants introduce a higher rate of passive actions,

shifting the image of the immigrant from agent to object. Moreover, there is a contrast between deflating socio-economical attributes and deflating passive actions, seeing as the latter leads to a depiction of the immigrant as a victim. This suggests that the immigrant is perceived according to his stance in society – cultural or socio-economical, agent or object.

Overall, the vocabulary used by the participants to define the immigrant imagined community is closely related to the vocabulary in the articles, be it at a direct or indirect level. Criminality articles, for instance, lead to a higher frequency of deflating vocabulary despite the overall message transmitted, thus indicating, as with education articles, that deflating attributes have a greater impact on the reader. This aspect leads to a making of an immigrant imagined community that only draws from negative elements. Even so, the making of the immigrant imagined community remains dependent on the implicit message conveyed by the article, as is the case of employment articles, in which the true-life story style has a greater influence on the perception of the immigrant as a victim than the leading administrative vocabulary. That is to say, the style of the article, which brings in the immigrant's personal viewpoint, shifts the focus of the reader from the lexis to the immigrant's personal experience.

Although the topic of the article does not seem to have a relevant influence on the perception of the immigrant community, the vocabulary presented plays, nonetheless, an important role in the making of the imagined community. This is not dependant on the attribute's rate of incidence, but rather on the impact of the vocabulary on the participants, with a particular impact of deflating attributes.

3.1.4 The role of the topic on the identification of the theme, variations in objectivity perception, production of suggestions, and levels of influence

In addition to the vocabulary tables introduced in sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2 and 3.1.3, four other aspects were analysed in accordance with the topic of the articles: the identification of the theme, variations in the objectivity perception of the article and content, the production of suggestions, and the impact of the articles on the participants. In Question 6, participants

were asked to define the theme of the article, thus revealing the angle from which the articles and questionnaires were understood. The majority of the participants accurately associated the articles with criminality (95%), employment (76%) and education (88%). However, other themes were suggested, as displayed in Table 13:

Article Topic	Topic introduced by the participant	Frequency
Criminality	The origin of delinquents	1
Employment	Immigration	4
	Immigrants	1
	Documents	1
Education	Immigrant prejudice in education	1
	School Failure	1

Table 13- Topics introduced by the participants

From Table 13, it is possible to infer that articles related to the area of employment generated the lowest consensus regarding the topic, rather producing a shift in focus to the whole immigrant community through “Immigration” or “Immigrants”. This might be motivated by the use of focused personal life stories that are generalised to a greater group (*Post-Colonial Cultures* 1997: p.31). The high rate of accurate identifications of criminality as a theme points out, on the other hand, the function that precise data and direct sources can have. Nevertheless, the single topic introduced by the participant – “The origin of delinquents” – reveals the thin borderline between an article on criminality (or any other topic) and an article on immigration.

As regards the changes in the perception of objectivity, a comparative analysis was developed based on three questions placed in the questionnaires – Question 3, on the objectivity of the newspaper; Question 9, on the objectivity of the article; and Question 13, on the objectivity of the content. These were spread throughout the questionnaire to identify changes in perception as the participants were encouraged to give the article more thought. For analysis purposes the questions also allow a better understanding as to whether the participants show a critical analysis of what they have read and an insight on whether the participants perceive the article as an isolated unit, or as part of a larger context – the newspaper. The values concerning the newspaper are here used only as a point of comparison and not as a dependant variable of the topic.

Although an average 11% of the participants failed to appraise the objectivity of the newspaper, possibly due to a lack of familiarity, only an average 4% failed to appraise the objectivity of the article, and 100% provided an answer concerning the content. The analysis of the topic dimension to the evolution of objectivity perception indicates that answers linked to criminality articles show the greatest average percentage of indecisive answers (25%). In addition, even though 52% of the participants identify the newspaper as objective, the number decreases concerning the objectivity of the article (43%) and content (48%), revealing a discrepancy between the original expectations regarding the content and the content itself. As regards articles on employment and education, over 70% of the participants agree that the newspaper and the content are objective. There is, however, a significant decrease regarding the objectivity of the article (68% and 59%).

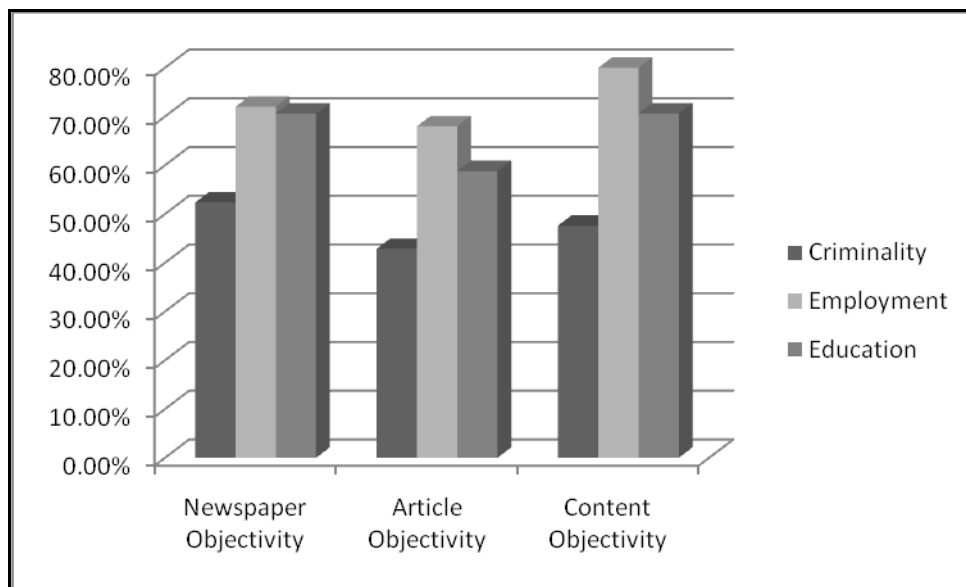


Figure 1- Positive objectivity of newspaper, article and content

As displayed in Figure 1, all of the topics display greater changes between the perception of an objective article and the other two factors. In other words, even though newspaper and content objectivities obtain similar trust values, those of the article are considerably low, thus indicating a focalised mistrust in the article. In terms of the making of the immigrant imagined community, these aspects are translated into a divided opinion between the topic of the article and the way it is approached.

Section c) of the questionnaires encouraged participants to produce suggestions to the resolution of the problems discussed in the articles. Seeing as the focus of the research is on the suggestion rates, the content of the suggestions will not be analysed.

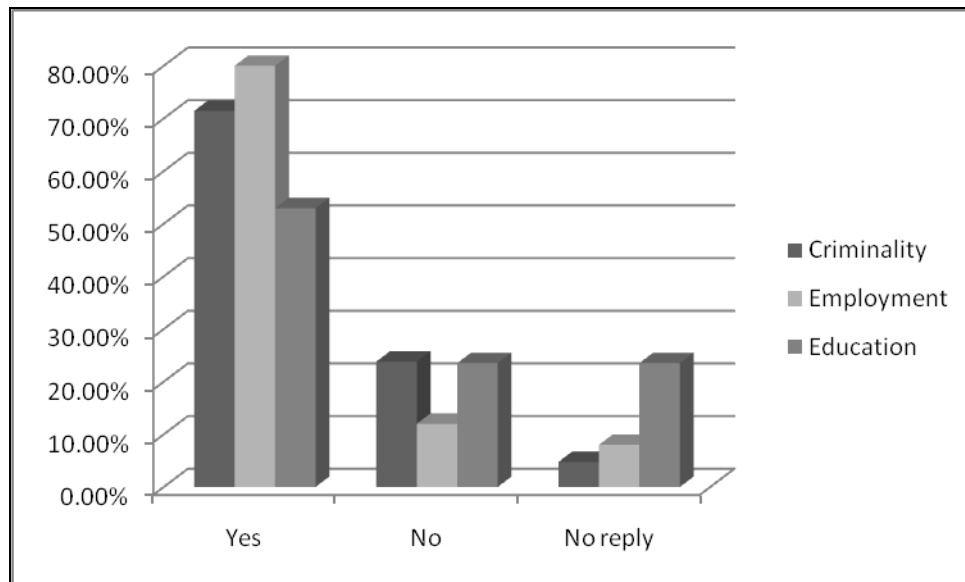


Figure 2- Rates of suggestions

As indicated by Figure 2, the highest rates of suggestions are associated with employment (80%) and criminality articles (71%), the lowest belonging to education articles (53%). Furthermore, the percentage of no replies is higher in education articles (23.5%) than in articles addressing criminality (5%) and employment (8%). Effectively, despite the connection of the participants to the field of education, these articles show both the lowest rate of suggestions and the highest of no replies. The low rate of suggestions might, in effect, be related to the consensus with the immigrant representation in the articles (see Tables 5 and 6) and to the use of statistics as primary sources. By contrast, the high rate of suggestions relating to employment might be triggered by the use of testimonies, a more personal approach to the reader.

The comparison between the notion of a fair representation of the immigrant (Question 10) and the rate of suggestions, as shown in Figure 3, proves to be insightful, seeing as participants who considered the article to be unfair, did so mostly because of its limited scope (employment – 62.5%; education – 71%) and not because they disagreed with the article's content (employment – 25%; education – 29%). The exception is criminality in which participants had equally divided opinions (50%).

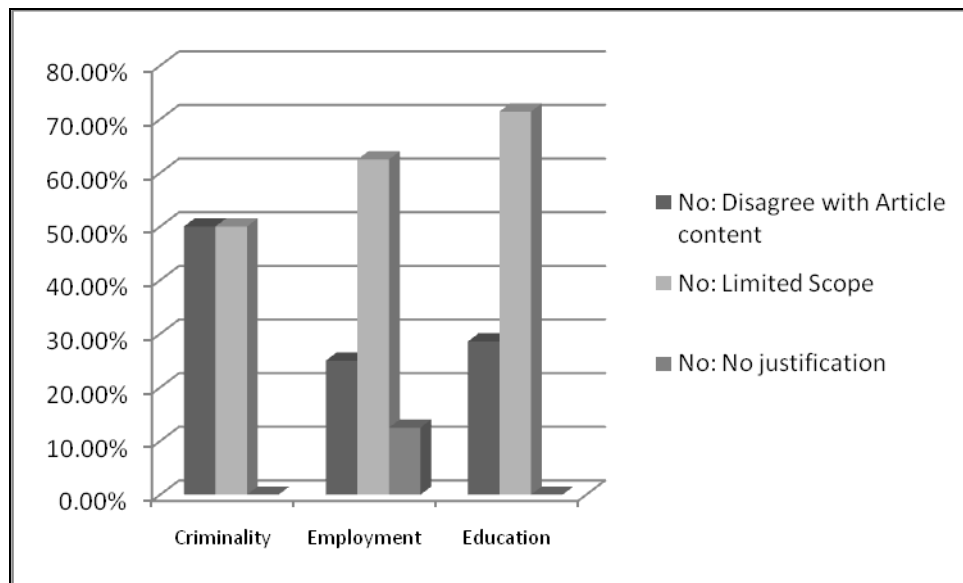


Figure 3- Motivations for disagreement with the articles perspective

In effect, articles on criminality were considered the most unfair (76%) and those to in which the participants showed more disagreement with the article's content (50%). Accordingly, these are the articles which spawned more suggestions, indicating that articles which contradict the participant's point of view are more likely to generate an active response to the problem presented.

As a final point in this section, we will establish the relation between the participants' perception of the articles and its impact on the making of the immigrant imagined community. Two distinct questions were placed in the questionnaire for this purpose – Question 9, on the positivity, negativity or neutrality of the article, and Question 11, on the acknowledged change in the participant's viewpoint to a more positive, a more negative, or an unchanged perspective. Regarding articles on criminality, participants favoured a neutral influence regardless of the content (76%), although positive content also generated a positive influence (25%) and negative content a negative influence (28.5%).

Employment and education articles, as with articles on criminality, led participants to favour a neutral influence (Group A=68%; Group B=82%), especially if the content was perceived as positive (Group A=100%; Group B=87.5%). Even so, in employment articles, negative and neutral contents are also associated with a positive influence – 27% and 45%, respectively – reinforcing the idea present on the vocabulary tables that there is a distinction between the overall opinion of the content as a unit of context and the key

words identified by the participant. Education articles, on the other hand, led to a straightforward association of positive content with a more positive perspective (25%) and negative content with a more negative perspective (25%). Neutral content generated a small percentage of negative perspective shifts – 20%. In summary, most participants favour a neutral influence regardless of the content perception and topic.

The analysis according to the topic of the article led to several conclusions. Firstly, the deflating and neutral socio-economical vocabulary predominant in the articles is reflected in the tendencies of vocabulary drawn by the participants, reinforcing the overall lack of direct positive aspects associated with immigration. This happens despite the clear lack of consensus as to what attributes characterise the immigrant community. In effect, although the topic of the article does not seem to have a relevant direct influence in the perception of the immigrant community and participants reject any impact, the vocabulary plays an important role in the making of the immigrant imagined community, particularly at an impact level. This aspect has consequences at policy levels and stresses the role of the media in the making of identities.

Secondly, active actions are prevalent over passive actions, indicating the portrayal of the immigrant as an agent. Nevertheless, the references made to actions are much lower than the references made to attributes both in the articles and by the participants, suggesting the making of an immigrant imagined community in terms of fixed attributes (Cabecinhas and Amâncio 2004). The participants, by contrast, often perceive the immigrant as the object, which might reflect the notion that the immigrant is placed in an extreme of society, being either inactive or marginalised.

Finally, the highest rates of suggestions belong to criminality and employment articles, whereas the lowest belong to education, contradicting the hypothesis that articles dealing with education provoke stronger participant responses. In effect, articles which oppose the participant's point of view are more likely to generate an active response to the problem presented. In this sense, if an image is frequently transmitted and slowly absorbed by the reader, the latter becomes less likely to disagree with the content presented.

3.2 Findings and Discussion according to the cultural background of the articles and participants

The survey group is, for analysis purposes according to the cultural background of the articles and participants, divided into two sub-groups: Group 1 = 28 participants (m=12; f=16) and consists of participants who the French articles (Articles 1-3); Group B = 35 participants (m=12; f=23) and consists of the participants who read the Portuguese articles (Articles 4-6).

3.2.1 Cultural and Socio-Economical Attributes

Similarly to section 3.1.1 of the present chapter, and in accordance with the key concepts explored in Chapter 2, the data tables were divided in three columns with the vocabulary in the articles, its frequency and the frequency of references by the participants. Table 14 displays the cultural attributes featuring in both the French and the Portuguese articles (Articles 1-6). Cultural attributes are present in the articles in a significantly small number, the majority of which with a frequency = 1. In effect, only “they” and “ethnic” are introduced more than once in the French articles.

Cultural Attributes	Articles 1-3	Group 1
<i>Praising</i>		
Pure-breed French	1	
Happy	1	
Special responsibility	1	
Pride	1	3
Communication	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
They	18	
Them	1	
Powerlessness	1	
The <i>beur</i> on call	1	
Different	1	
Cliché	1	2
Snobbery	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Ethnic	2	2
Language	1	

Secular Values	1	
Cultural Attributes	Articles 4-6	Group 2
<i>Praising</i>		
Smothering voice	1	
Discreet	1	
Hope	1	
Longing	1	
Crunch in the chest	1	
Straightforward	1	
Communication	1	3
Portuguese language	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Different	1	2
Non-existent	1	
Other languages and dialects	1	2

Table 14- Cultural attributes in the articles

The majority of the cultural attributes in the articles is praising and deflating. There is a predominance of deflating over praising vocabulary in the French articles, with a focus on difference – “they”, “the *beur* on call”, “different”. Portuguese articles, on the other hand, display a prevalence of praising over deflating vocabulary which is primarily related to a stress on feelings and emotions. The low frequency of cultural attributes, however, does not allow for substantial conclusions to be drawn.

The cultural vocabulary retained by the participant is, accordingly, minor, anticipating a focus on the socio-economical vocabulary. Still, whereas Group 1 participants draw attention to “pride” and “ethnic”, disregarding deflating vocabulary, Group 2 participants focus on “different” and “other languages and dialects”, “communication” being the single praising vocabulary drawn. This choice of attributes contrasts to the tendencies in the articles and reflects the socio-economical vocabulary trends.

The major focus of the articles’ vocabulary is, in effect, on the socio-economical attributes of the immigrant. This can be explained by a choice of articles which deal with social issues. Table 15 presents the attributes used to describe the immigrant in articles 1-3 and indicates a clear prevalence of neutral and deflating vocabulary over praising vocabulary. Neutral attributes focus both on the role of administration – “prefecture”, “court”,

“residence permit”, “administration” – and on the social and national roots of the immigrant – “youth”, “coming from immigration”, “from the Maghreb”. Deflating attributes also emphasise the question of origins but from an identity vs. difference point of view – “of foreign origin”, “children of foreigners”, “born abroad”. In effect, the reference to origins comprises 25% of the total vocabulary in the articles. In addition, there is a relevant number of attributes related to criminality – “delinquent”, “delinquency” and “prison”. As for praising attributes, despite their smaller frequency, there is nonetheless a focus on professional success “teacher”, “school”– and on integration – “regularisation”, “integration”.

Socio-Economical Attributes	Articles 1-3		Group 1	
	n	%	n	%
<i>Praising</i>				
Teacher	5	4.17%		
School	5	4.17%		
Evolution	2	1.67%	2	1.75%
Prestigious	1	0.83%		
Accomplished products	1	0.83%		
Regularisation	1	0.83%	5	4.39%
Legal	1	0.83%		
Integration	1	0.83%		
Social Promotion	1	0.83%	2	1.75%
Adviser	1	0.83%		
Headmaster	1	0.83%		
Deputy director	1	0.83%		
Valued workers	1	0.83%	6	5.26%
<i>Deflating</i>				
Of foreign origin	6	5.00%	6	5.26%
Delinquent	4	3.33%	6	5.26%
Delinquency	3	2.50%	3	2.63%
Workman	3	2.50%		
Children of foreigners	2	1.67%		
Born abroad	2	1.67%		
Of foreign nationality	1	0.83%		
French people born from foreign parents	1	0.83%		
Born outside the Hexagon	1	0.83%		

Judge of civil liberties and of detention (JLD)	1	0.83%	3	2.63%
Prison	1	0.83%	3	2.63%
Red tape	1	0.83%		
Inactive	1	0.83%		
Handicap	1	0.83%		
Alcoholic	1	0.83%		
Poverty	1	0.83%	4	3.51%
Ghettoisation	1	0.83%	4	3.51%
Discrimination	1	0.83%	3	2.63%
Inequality	1	0.83%		
Working-class	1	0.83%		
Small Jobs	1	0.83%		
Neutral				
Youth	10	8.33%	3	2.63%
Prefecture	6	5.00%	5	4.39%
Coming from immigration	4	3.33%	7	6.14%
From the Maghreb	4	3.33%	10	8.77%
Court	4	3.33%	7	6.14%
Overrepresentation	3	2.50%	2	1.75%
Residence Permit	3	2.50%	7	6.14%
Family	3	2.50%		
Administration	3	2.50%	3	2.63%
Immigration	2	1.67%		
National Agency of Reception to Foreigners and Migrations (ANAEM)	2	1.67%	4	3.51%
Cambodian	2	1.67%	2	1.75%
Cook	2	1.67%		
Student	2	1.67%		
Children of immigrants	2	1.67%		
Newly arrived immigrant	1	0.83%	2	1.75%
Of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin	1	0.83%	8	7.02%
Mexican	1	0.83%		
Malian	1	0.83%		
From Algeria	1	0.83%		
Visa	1	0.83%	3	2.63%
Documents	1	0.83%	4	3.51%
Neighbourhood	1	0.83%		
Employees	1	0.83%		
Merchant	1	0.83%		

Deliverer	1	0.83%		
TOTAL	120	100%	114	100%

Table 15- Socio-economical attributes in Articles 1-3

The vocabulary frequencies drawn by the participants of Group 1 are consistent with the vocabulary trends in the articles. In effect, most participants identify the origins as key attributes of immigrants, both when they are alluded to in a neutral form (25.43%) – “from the Maghreb”, “of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin”, “coming from immigration” – or in a deflating form (5.6%) – “of foreign origin”. There is a clear identification of the immigrant’s relation to administration – “court”, “prefecture”, “visa” – and to delinquency – “delinquent”, “ghettoisation”, “prison”. There is a clear discrepancy between the rates of incidence of the attributes in the articles and as drawn by the participants. For instance, “of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin” shifts from 0.83% in the text to 7.02% introduced by the participants while “from the Maghreb” shifts from 3.33% to 8.77% and “coming from immigration” from 3.33% to 6.14%. The same discrepancy applies, however, to praising vocabulary, namely “valued workers” which shifts from 0.83% to 5.26%. This suggests that vocabulary with stronger connotations, i.e., a well defined image of the immigrant is more frequently drawn by the participants.

Table 16 displays the attributes used to describe the immigrant in Articles 4-6. The frequency of neutral over deflating and praising attributes is clear, with a particular emphasis on social communities, through “immigrant”, “neighbourhood” and “youth”. Neutral vocabulary also reveals a stress on economical aspects, namely through “income”, “regrouping” and “subsistence”. Deflating vocabulary is used in a much smaller scale and reflects, much like the vocabulary in Articles 1-3, the role of difference and criminality in relation to immigration, through “foreigner”, “criminal background”, and “illegal”. Finally, praising vocabulary is that which is used the less, both in variety and frequency, but nonetheless stressing integration – “contract”, “legal”, “integration”.

Socio-Economical Attributes	Articles 4-6		Group 2	
	n	%	N	%
<i>Praising</i>				
Contract	3	3.37%	4	3.31%
Legal	2	2.25%	7	5.79%
School	2	2.25%	2	1.65%

Integration	1	1.12%	2	1.65%
<i>Deflating</i>				
SEF	6	6.74%	3	2.48%
Foreigner	5	5.62%	3	2.48%
Criminality	4	4.49%	11	9.09%
Criminal background	4	4.49%	3	2.48%
Illegal	3	3.37%	15	12.40%
Criminal record	2	2.25%		
Non-integrated citizen	1	1.12%	2	1.65%
Difficulties	1	1.12%	6	4.96%
Critical	1	1.12%		
Problematic	1	1.12%	5	4.13%
School Failure	1	1.12%		
Minimum Wage	1	1.12%		
Prison	1	1.12%		
Drug smugglers	1	1.12%	3	2.48%
<i>Neutral</i>				
Immigrant	9	10.11%	16	13.22%
Neighbourhood	8	8.99%	7	5.79%
Youth	5	5.62%	2	1.65%
Income	5	5.62%	9	7.44%
Regrouping	4	4.49%	4	3.31%
Subsistence	3	3.37%	3	2.48%
Descendant from immigrants	3	3.37%		
Individual	2	2.25%		
Brazilian	2	2.25%	2	1.65%
Residence permit	2	2.25%	2	1.65%
Immigration	2	2.25%	2	1.65%
Second generation immigrants	1	1.12%		
Children of immigrants	1	1.12%		
Documents	1	1.12%		
Family	1	1.12%	8	6.61%
TOTAL	89	100%	121	100%

Table 16- Socio-economical attributes in Articles 4-6

The vocabulary frequencies drawn by Group 2 participants reflect, to some extent, the lexis tendencies in the articles. On the one hand, there is a clear majority of allusions to neutral attributes linked to social communities such as “immigrant”, “family” and “neighbourhood”, followed by deflating and praising attributes, which focus either on

exclusion (“illegal”, “problematic”) or on integration (“legal”, “contract”), respectively. On the other hand, there is a lack of correspondence between the frequency of the vocabulary in the article and the attributes selected by the participants. For instance, “illegal” comprises 12.4% of the drawn vocabulary despite having a 3.37% incidence in the articles, and criminality a difference from 9.09% drawn to 4.49% in the articles. To “family”, the rate of incidence is of 6.61% drawn compared to 1.12% in the articles. These occurrences confirm, as with Group 1, that the impact is not directly proportional to the frequency of the attributes and imply that stereotypes, that is, simplified representations, might have a great influence on the attributes drawn by the participants (Noiriel 2007: 686).

In summary, there is a prevalence of socio-economical attributes over cultural attributes, which is nonetheless likely to be a direct consequence from the corpus of articles dealing with social problems. Cultural attributes tend to be either praising, in Portuguese articles, or deflating, in French articles, revealing an absence of neutral terms. This tendency is contradicted by the cultural vocabulary retained by the participants. In effect, whereas Group 1 participants draw more praising vocabulary, Group 2 participants focus on deflating vocabulary. Nevertheless, in view of the low frequency of the cultural vocabulary retained by the participants, no definite conclusion can be reached.

Regarding socio-economical attributes, both French and Portuguese articles show a majority of neutral vocabulary, followed by deflating and praising vocabulary. Conversely, whereas French articles focus on the origins of the immigrant and its relation to administration, Portuguese articles emphasise the role of social communities and economic aspects, thus reflecting different representations of the immigrant. Finally, two aspects are underlined in the characterisation of the immigrant imagined community by the participants. On the one hand, there is an overall correspondence between the type of vocabulary drawn and the lexis in the articles, that is to say, neutral vocabulary, being predominant, it is also the most drawn. On the other hand, data gathered from both groups reveal that the higher or lower frequency of attributes and actions in the articles is not proportional to the times it is referred to by the participants. In effect, participants tend to select attributes which provide a clear and well-defined categorisation of the immigrant.

3.2.2 Active and Passive actions

In this section, active and passive actions will be analysed in accordance with the cultural background of the articles and of the participants, as developed in the previous section. Table 17 displays the active and passive actions linked to the immigrant in Articles 1-3. Active actions are in a greater number than passive actions, focusing on the immigrant as the agent rather than as the object.

Active Actions	Articles 1-3	Group 1
<i>Praising</i>		
Teach	4	5
Work	1	
Master	1	
Learn	1	
Know	1	
Try	1	
Choose	1	
Achieve	1	
Be interested in	1	
Dream	1	
Believe	1	
Invest	1	
Support	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Serious offence	3	
Offence	2	
Violence	2	
Repeat a year	1	
Absence	1	
Quit	1	2
Not to talk	1	
Not to write	1	
Grope about	1	
Disenchant	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Wait	3	
To produce (law)	2	
To appear (law)	1	
Come back	1	
Arrive	1	
Fill in	1	
Obtain	1	

Prefer	1	
Passive Actions	Articles 1-3	Group 1
<i>Praising</i>		
Blended in	1	
Not distinguished	1	
Freed	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Judged	1	
Excluded	1	
Conquered	1	
Taken into custody	1	
Laid off	1	
Skinned alive	1	3
<i>Neutral</i>		
Transferred	1	

Table 17- Actions in the French Articles

Table 17 indicates that active actions are evenly distributed among praising, deflating and neutral attributes. Praising active actions, on the one hand, focus on the professional integration of immigrants – “teach”, “work”, “learn”. Deflating active actions, on the other hand, accentuate the link to criminality – “serious offence”, “offence” and “violence”. Neutral active vocabulary specifies daily actions, namely “wait”, “produce” and “fill in”. As regards passive actions, there is a clear majority of deflating vocabulary although the overall frequency is rather low (n=6). Unlike the deflating vocabulary found in active actions, passive actions emphasise the role of the immigrant as a victim – “judged”, “excluded”, and “conquered”. From the actions displayed, Group 1 participants retained only three, two of which are active and one is passive. The former two are associated to prevalent actions in the text – “teach” and “quit”, whereas the latter reflects the impact of the expression “skinned alive” despite its frequency 1 in the article.

Table 18 displays the active and passive actions referring to the immigrant in the Portuguese articles. Active actions are, once more, in a greater number than passive actions, emphasising the role of the immigrant as an agent. There is, however, an evident majority of deflating vocabulary chiefly related to criminality, both as regards active actions – “crimes”, “homicide”, “commit” –, and passive actions – “arrested”, “expelled”. Praising vocabulary, by contrast, focuses on actions related to praising cultural attributes such as “confess”, “achieve” or “declare”, found mainly in the true-life story of Article 5.

Neutral actions are seldom retrieved in the articles and are used to highlight daily routines – “come”, “live”, “informed”.

Active Actions	Articles 4-6	Group 2
<i>Praising</i>		
Work	3	6
Confess	1	
Achieve	1	
Declare	1	
Not to doubt	1	
<i>Deflating</i>		
Fail	4	7
Crimes	4	3
Homicide	3	
Commit	3	
Robbery	3	
Drug dealing	1	6
Absence	1	
Escape	1	
<i>Neutral</i>		
Come	2	
Live	1	
Reside	1	
Passive Actions	Articles 4-6	Group 2
<i>Deflating</i>		
Arrested	4	
Expelled	2	
Identification	1	
Detected	1	
Caught	1	
Refused	1	
Not declared	1	
Discriminated	1	7
<i>Neutral</i>		
Informed	1	

Table 18- Actions in the Portuguese Articles

From the actions in the articles, only five were retained by Group 2 participants – “work”, “fail”, “crimes” “drug dealing” and “discriminated”. The fact that four of these actions are deflating suggests a greater impact of deflating over praising vocabulary, which is

consistent with the disproportion between the rates of incidence and impact, previously addressed in this chapter.

Overall, active actions prevail over passive actions in both the French and the Portuguese articles, emphasising the role of the immigrant as an agent rather than as an object. However, whereas active actions in the French articles are evenly distributed among praising, deflating and neutral categories, there is a clear majority of deflating actions in the Portuguese articles, particularly relating to criminality. Different reference patterns are also remarked between Group 1 and Group 2, seeing as the former stresses the actions dominant in the article, and the latter highlights deflating actions which are, by contrast, minimal in the articles.

The clear emphasis on neutral and deflating vocabulary both in the French and in the Portuguese articles, leads nonetheless to a different construction of the immigrant imagined community. While French articles underline the role of origins, administration and criminality, Portuguese articles focus on social communities and exclusion features. The vocabulary referred to matches the vocabulary trends in the articles, which is in accordance with the differences in exclusion practices in the different countries (Eaton 1998: 57) and suggests that the press reflects and motivates behaviour. There is a discrepancy between rates of incidence in the text and the concrete impact of the attributes and actions on the participants, which is possible due to the impact and strength of previous stereotyped representations, which are to a greater or lesser extent reinforced by the press (Noiriel 2007: 471).

Furthermore, it is worth referring that there is an evident contrast between the vocabulary drawn by the participants and the answers provided regarding the positivity, negativity or neutrality of the content. In effect, even though most Group 1 participants identified the article's content as negative (54%), the majority of the vocabulary retained is neutral. Group 2, despite equally labelling the article as either positive or neutral (40%), focuses on neutral traits, seldom referring to praising attributes. It is interesting to observe, however, that whereas an overall perspective tends to be extreme, that is to say, positive or negative, the majority of participants still rely on neutral vocabulary to define the immigrant

imagined community, possibly as a safe point of straightforward categorisation. These extreme perspectives are reflected in the introduced vocabulary (see Section 3.2.3 below).

3.2.3 Vocabulary introduced by the participants

In addition to the vocabulary retained from the articles, Questions 5 and 7 allowed the participants to introduce their own vocabulary to characterise the immigrant community. Table 19 displays the frequencies of vocabulary introduced by Group 1 participants.

Group	Cultural Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
G1	Perseverance	1				
	Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
			Foreigner	6		
			Difficulties	2		
			Illegal	1		
	Active Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	

Table 19- Vocabulary introduced by Group 1

Table 19 reveals a clear shortage of vocabulary freely introduced by Group 1 participants, indicating that the articles have a greater impact on the construction of the immigrant imagined community than external representations. In effect, only four attributes were introduced by the participants, three of which are deflating – “victim”, “illegal” and “failure”. Although these indicate a perception of both the immigrant as a victim and as an outsider, the low rate of occurrence does not admit definite conclusions.

By contrast, Group 2 participants introduce a wider range of vocabulary not present in the articles, as displayed in Tables 20 and 21. Unlike the articles, the focus is on cultural traits, indicating that the participants counterweigh the absence of explicit cultural traits in the articles by introducing their own external cultural representations of the immigrant

community. This is particularly visible in the use of “good people”, “safe” and “serious people”, as regards praising vocabulary, and “individualist” and “not adapted”, as regards deflating vocabulary. The introduction of cultural traits might also result from the interpretation of the facts in the articles, particularly in Article 5, a true-life story. This aspect is visible, for instance, in the use of “fighter” and “suffering”.

Group	Cultural Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
G2	Fighter	4	Sad	2		
	Suffering	3	Unmotivated	1		
	Good people	2	Unhappy	1		
	Safe	1	Individualist	1		
	Smart	1	Not adapted	1		
	Serious people	1	Incompetent	1		
	Harmless	1	Uninterested	1		
	Humble	1	Rebelled	1		
	Honest	1				
	Brave	1				
	With goals	1				
	Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Legal	1	Criminal	4	Worker	7
			Illegal	2	People	2
			Prisoner	1		
			Dangerous	1		
			Precarious	1		
			Low salaries	1		
			Thief	1		
			Disgrace	1		
			Stigma	1		
			Unemployment	1		

Table 20- Attributes Introduced by Group 2

As for the socio-economical traits, there is a predominance of deflating attributes focused on criminality – “criminal”, “illegal”, “guilty”. These reflect the interpretation of ideas only implicitly discussed in Article 4 and suggest a disregard for the overall message of the article. Neutral attributes, on the other hand, are only mentioned in the form of “people” and “workers”, contrasting with the higher rate of occurrence of neutral vocabulary in the articles.

The introduction of deflating vocabulary is the most evident as regards the active and passive actions presented in Table 21. Even though the immigrant is portrayed as an agent through “make unstable”, the majority of the deflating actions focuses on the immigrant as a victim of society, as suggested by the use of “exploited”, “discriminated” and “marginalised”, among many others. The exceptions are “unemployed”, “controlled” and “deported” which have, nonetheless, an extremely low frequency compared to the former.

Group	Active Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
G2			Make unstable	1		
	Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
	Integrated	1	Exploited	4		
			Ignored	2		
			Discriminated	1		
			Marginalised	1		
			Made inferior	1		
			Differentiated	1		
			Deported	1		
			Controlled	1		
			Criticised	1		
			Wronged	1		
			Excluded	1		

Table 21- Actions introduced by Group 2

It is possible to conclude that Group 1 participants focus on the vocabulary presented in the articles rather than in the introduction of new attributes based on external representations. Accordingly, it seems more likely for Group 1 participants to absorb the article’s content than to produce original constructions in the making of the immigrant imagined community. Group 2 participants, by contrast, added a greater number of cultural and socio-economical traits not explicitly present in the article thus indicating a more active role in the construction of the imagined community. Furthermore, there is a binary representation of the immigrant, who is depicted as both a rebel and as victimised by society.

Overall, there seems to be a complementary construction of the immigrant imagined community based on the vocabulary drawn from the articles and the vocabulary introduced by the participants, which is confirmed by three aspects. Firstly, the prevalence of socio-economical attributes over cultural attributes in the articles is compensated by a higher rate of cultural attributes in the introduced vocabulary. Secondly, neutral traits in the introduced vocabulary are minimal in contrast to their predominance in the articles. Finally, whereas Group 1 clearly draws more vocabulary from the articles than Group 2, the latter has a much richer freely introduced lexis. It is therefore possible to suggest that not only does Group 2 make a larger use of external representations than Group 1 in the making of the immigrant imagined community, but also that additional vocabulary is only introduced by the participants when the characteristics identified by the survey group as pertinent are either implicit or not at all present in the articles.

3.2.4 The role of the cultural background on the identification of the sources, variations in objectivity perception, production of suggestions, and levels of influence

In addition to the vocabulary tables introduced in sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, four other aspects were analysed in accordance with the cultural background of the articles and participants: the identification of the sources, variations in the perception of objectivity, the production of suggestions, and levels of influence. Table 22 displays the sources used in each of the articles, divided below into three categories: official sources, such as government officials, laws and experts on the topic; statistics, which range from studies to official reports; and testimonies, given by immigrants.

Statistics are used as a source by most articles, either as a main source (Articles 1 and 6) or as a complement to other sources, namely official sources (Article 4) and testimonies (Articles 3 and 5). Article 2 is the single to make use of a testimony as the single source.

Article Number	Number of Sources	Type of Sources	Source Contexts	Type of knowledge provided
1	3	1. INSEE	Quoted Indirectly	Statistics
		2. Research Study	Quoted Indirectly	Statistics
		3. Survey	Quoted Indirectly	Statistics
2	1	1. Va	Quoted Directly	Testimony
3	2	1. Hassan	Testimony	Testimony
		2. Research Study	Quoted Directly	Statistics
4	3	1. Manuel Jarmela Palos, Director-General of the Borders and Immigration Office	Quoted Directly	Statistics Official source
		2. Secretary-General of the Department Coordinator of Security	Quoted Indirectly	Official source
		3. SEF	Quoted Indirectly	Official source
5	4	1. Ivete Varala	Quoted Directly	Testimony
		2. Portaria 1563/2007	Quoted Indirectly	Official source
		3. Solidariedade Imigrante	Quoted Indirectly	Testimony
		4. SEF	Quoted Indirectly	Official source
6	1	1. Research Study	Quoted Directly	Statistics

Table 22- Sources in the articles

In Question 8, participants were asked to identify the most reliable sources presented by the journalist. In addition to the sources displayed in Table 22, another source was referred to by the participants and subsequently added to the analysis – the journalist, that is to say, information present in the article without an explicit additional source. The participants' perception of the article as a trustworthy self-sufficient source of information emphasises the impact that the press will have on the survey group as regards the making of identities.

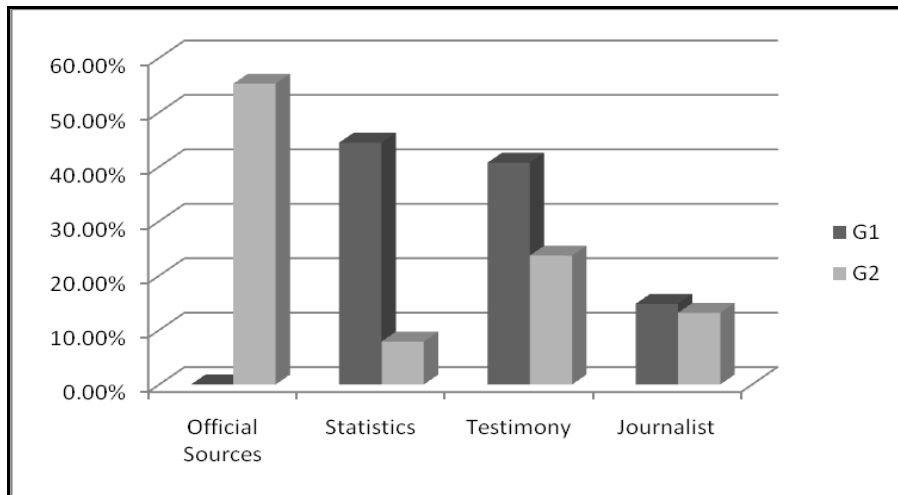


Figure 4- Sources identified by the participants

As shown in Figure 4, Group 1 identified statistics as the most trustworthy source (44%), followed by testimonies (41%) and the journalist (15%). Group 2, on the other hand, identified official sources as being the most valuable (55%), followed by testimonies (23%) and the journalist (13%). In effect, whereas the choice of Group 1 participants correspond to the source tendencies in the articles, Group 2 participants show a tendency to refer to statistics less than testimonies, despite their recurrent presence in Articles 4-6. From the participants inquired, nearly 18% of Group 1 and 8% of group 2 failed to identify any source. This may be related to the smaller average number of sources per article in Articles 1-3 in comparison to Articles 4-6.

As regards the perception of objectivity, a comparative analysis was developed in accordance with the method described in 1.4. As illustrated by Figure 5, perceptions of objectivity by cultural group may vary according to the newspaper, article, and content. Group 1 displays a greater trust in the objectivity of the newspaper (46%), which decreases throughout the questionnaire in relation to the objectivity of the article (28.5%) and of the content (39%). By contrast, Group 2 displays a greater trust in the objectivity of the content (88.5%).

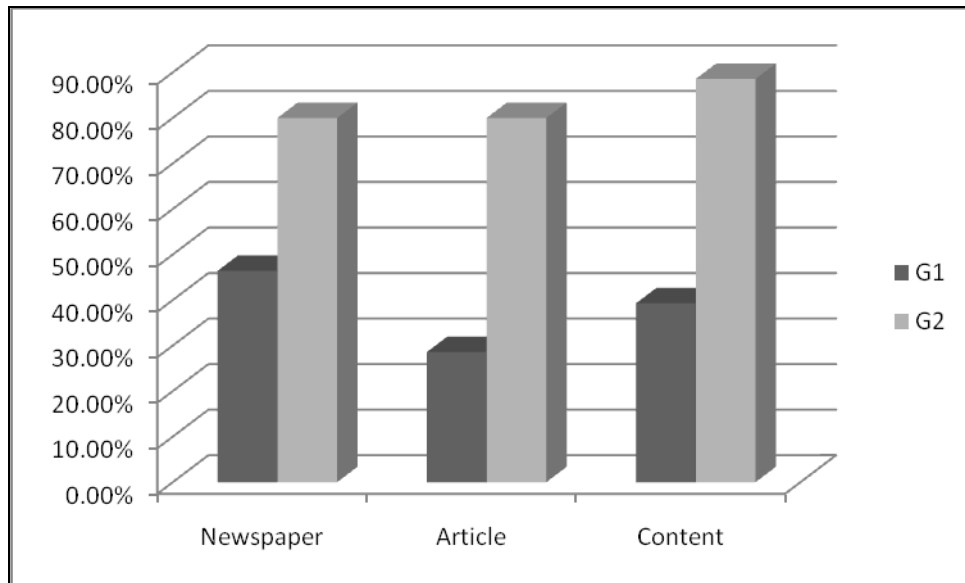


Figure 5- Positive objectivity of newspaper, article and content

What is more, Group 2 shows an overall trust percentage equal or above 80%, contrasting with Group 1, which never reaches the 50%. In fact, the percentage of indecisive answers regarding the article and the content is greater in Group 1 than in Group 2, consistent with the wider range of vocabulary drawn (see Tables 15 and 16). Group 2, by contrast, shows a higher percentage of indecisive answers concerning the newspaper than Group 1 (13.5% more), but overall higher trust levels. It is also worth noting that a significant percentage of Group 1 participants chose not to reply regarding the objectivity of the newspaper (21%) and article (11%).

Section c) of the questionnaires encouraged participants to produce suggestions to the resolution of the problems issued in the articles. As in section 3.1.4, the content of the suggestions will not be analysed. Participants from Group 2 showed a higher rate of suggestion (77%) than participants from Group 1 (66%), the latter also showing the highest rate of no replies (25%).

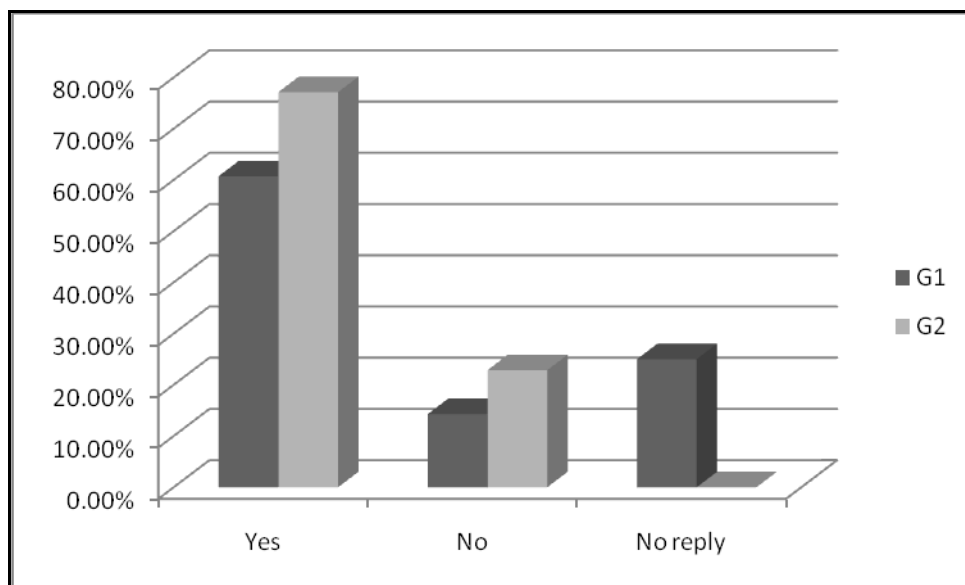


Figure 6- Rate of suggestions to the resolution of the problems addressed in the articles

When compared to the notion of a fair representation of immigrants, the suggestion rates show no significant relation, unlike what was previously indicated by the findings in 1.4. A higher number of Group 1 participants considered the articles to be unfair in relation to Group 2 (57% to 43%). Furthermore, whereas 50% of Group 1 participants disagreed with the article's content, 73% of Group 2 participants who considered the articles to be unfair, did so mostly because of its limited scope. From the participants inquired, only 3.5% of Group 1 participants failed to assess this question.

As a final point to this section, it will be established how the perception of the article, newspaper knowledge and reading frequency relate to the article's influence on the participant and, consequently, on the making of the immigrant imagined community.

As regards the article's influence according to the participant's perception of the content, it was possible to establish that the majority of the participants favour a neutral influence regardless of the content. In effect, 100% of Group 1 participants who perceived the content as positive declared a neutral influence; the same can be said of 78.5% of Group 2 participants. To these numbers, we add 73% Group 1 and 71.5% Group 2 participants who perceived the article as negative but denied any influence nonetheless. It is important to note, however, that these questions only measure short-term acknowledged influence and do not take into account the long term influence of repeated representations (*Médias* 1995: p.184).

In order to roughly assess the impact of continuing press representations of the immigrant on the survey group, the participants were asked to fill in a section on reading frequency (daily, once a week, once a month, seldom, never) and on their awareness the newspaper publishing the article. These are displayed in Table 23.

Group	Reads newspapers	Frequency		Knows the newspaper
G1	96.43%	Daily	17.86%	85.71%
		Once a week	35.71%	
		Once a month	0.00%	
		Seldom	42.86%	
		Never	3.57%	
G2	97.14%	Daily	14.29%	82.86%
		Once a week	31.43%	
		Once a month	0.00%	
		Seldom	51.43%	
		Never	2.86%	

Table 23- Reading frequencies

Although the majority of the participants from both groups admits to reading newspapers (Group 1= 96%, Group 2= 97%), only a small minority reads them daily (Group 1= 18%; Group 2= 14%). In effect, Group 1 participants also display a higher rate of weekly reading (36%) compared to Group 2 participants (31%), and familiarity with the newspaper is slightly higher in Group 1 (86%) than in Group 2 (83%). Group 2, on the other hand, shows the greatest percentage of participants who seldom read newspapers – over 50%. According to the data analysed, it is likely for both Group 1 and Group 2 participants to be more influenced in the long-term by the press representation of communities, seeing as they display relatively regular reading habits (Correia 2007: 132). Although the participants seem to acknowledge a neutral influence, the lack of introduced attributes, particularly as regards Group 1, suggests that representations in the article are accepted as true and integrated in the making of the immigrant imagined community. This is extremely relevant considering the patterns in vocabulary drawn, which present an evident absence of praising attributes. Moreover, it raises questions as to the overall trends of French and Portuguese articles dealing with immigration, seeing as these are fundamental to the way the article is received. For instance, an integrative article that follows a negative trend of

articles is likely to be assimilated with more difficulties than another negative article. In summary, representations are complementing and must always be considered within a context, seeing as they are not assimilated independently by individual.

The analysis according to the cultural background of the article and of the participants has led to several conclusions. Firstly, praising attributes are those less retained by the participants of both groups who favour, by contrast, neutral or deflating vocabulary. These focus either on the representation of the origins of the immigrant or on his/her position within social communities. Secondly, there is a relevant contrast between the frequency of the vocabulary in the article and the relevance bestowed to it by the participant, thus leading to a different attribute focus led by stereotypes images. Thirdly, suggestions are introduced in a much higher rate by Group 2 than by Group 1, which is consistent with the rate of introduced vocabulary to define the immigrant imagined community. This is most likely due to the use of external representations of the immigrant. Finally, even though participants seem to favour a neutral short-term influence of the article in the perception of the immigrant, an analysis of reading habits has led to conclude that, in the long-term, the press will greatly influence the survey group on the making of the immigrant imagined community.

Chapter 4: Conclusions

The present study has attempted to analyse the influence of the press in the making of the immigrant imagined community, drawing on a corpus of six articles from French and Portuguese quality newspapers and a total of 63 questionnaires. The participants surveyed were high school students, aged 18 or older, from Paris and Lisbon, from districts with a high percentage of immigrants. By asking the participants to read the articles and answer a set of questions on the representation of the immigrant, it was possible to analyse the impact of the topic and of the culture in the perception and construction of the imagined community through the press.

The analysis of the articles and questionnaires according to the cultural background has led to an insightful perspective on how French and Portuguese participants construct the immigrant imagined community. French articles, on the one hand, focus on both neutral and deflating vocabularies, with a special emphasis placed on the origins of the immigrant as a non-national member – a foreigner or a descendant of previous immigrant generations. This is consistent with the weight given to the origins and visibility of second-generation North African immigrants in contemporary France (Gafaiti 2003: 204). The vocabulary drawn is consistent with that presented in the articles, suggesting a consensus regarding the key attributes that define the immigrant imagined community, a fact also supported by the low freely introduced vocabulary. The low rate of suggestions also indicates that the way the immigrant community is depicted in the articles is not questioned by the participants.

Portuguese articles also focus on neutral and deflating vocabulary but place the emphasis on social communities and exclusion, respectively. There is a predominance of active actions, which are chiefly deflating and emphasise the image of the immigrant as a criminal. The participants retain the attributes according to the overall vocabulary tendencies in the articles, leading to a construction of a negative immigrant imagined community, and confirming the existence of discrimination even if not directly associated with violent conflicts (Eaton 1998: 57). In addition, there is a contrast between the rate of occurrence of the attributes and actions in the articles and the choice of key attributes and actions by the participants, pointing towards an influence in terms of impact rather than frequency, particularly as regards national origins and social communities. Even though

Portuguese participants present a higher rate of suggestions, there is no evident connection to the way immigrants are depicted in the articles.

Hypothesis 1, which proposed that French articles would generate a more negative construction of the immigrant imagined community as a result of different decolonisation processes, is therefore nullified. In effect, both groups draw a great number of neutral and deflating attributes, seldom referring to praising attributes either drawn from the articles or freely introduced.

The analysis of the data according to the three parallel topics of the articles has also proved valuable to the study. In criminality articles there is a clear lack of praising attributes and exclusively deflating actions, which leads to a depiction of the immigrant as an outsider and as a criminal. This is particular relevant concerning Article 4, which focuses on dissociating the immigrant from criminality rates. The majority of the vocabulary retained by the participants is, accordingly, socio-economical and deflating, and so is the majority of the vocabulary introduced, which defines the immigrant as an offender.

As regards employment articles, there is a focus on praising and neutral vocabulary with an incidence of cultural attributes that emphasise positive characteristics. However, drawn vocabulary is exclusively socio-economical and emphasises immigrant visibility areas such as housing and jobs (*Immigration* 1987: 3). There is also a high rate of introduced vocabulary, which focuses on praising cultural attributes and in actions that depict the immigrant as a victim. These correspond to the idea implicitly dealt with in the articles.

Finally, in education articles there is a balanced use of praising and neutral vocabulary focused on the immigrant communication abilities and social communities. Even though, deflating vocabulary is the lowest presented in the articles, the focus of drawn attributes is clearly on neutral and deflating vocabulary, revealing a disproportional rate of occurrences between the attributes emphasised in the articles and by the participants, namely as regards the origins of the immigrant. Introduced vocabulary is the smallest of the three topics and almost exclusively deflating, thus leading to a construction of the immigrant imagined community as unreceptive.

These data nullify Hypothesis 2, which proposed that articles discussing education are more likely to provoke a more active reaction in the participants, as they are primarily

related to adolescents. In effect, education articles present the lowest rate of freely introduced vocabulary and of suggestions, revealing a low responsiveness. Nevertheless, participants show a high rate of consensus as regards the attributes and actions that define the immigrant in the articles, which might explain the weak reaction to the article's content.

Finally, Hypothesis 3, which proposed that content perceived as negative would have a stronger influence in the shift in perspectives than content perceived as positive, is confirmed. Even though, on the whole, participants acknowledge a neutral influence – that is to say, a lack of shift in perspectives –, the predominance of deflating vocabulary both drawn and freely introduced suggests differently. This is supported by the discrepancy between the rates of specific deflating attributes in the articles and the emphasis given by the participants.

In summary, the immigrant imagined community is constructed in a negative way by both French and Portuguese participants. Despite the positivity of some of the articles introduced, the majority of the participants emphasised the negative attributes even when these had a low rate of occurrence in the articles. In effect, introduced vocabulary is predominantly deflating, placing the immigrant in extreme roles of society as either an offender or as a victim. Even when the participants stated not to have been influenced by the article, there was a clear tendency to choose negative attributes over positive ones. This suggests that the reference to negative attributes in the articles, despite the overall content, might lead to the making of a negative imagined community with repercussions in the way immigration will be perceived and addressed in the future. It also raises questions as to a deontological code for journalists in countries where integration policies are in effect.

Two main challenges were faced in the course of the research study. On the one hand, the choice of articles based on social immigrant visibility areas led to a reduced scope of cultural attributes, which did not allow for a thorough analysis of the differences in the construction of a cultural and a socio-economical imagined community. On the other hand, the choice of articles with the same topic, which were not consistent in terms of the positivity, negativity or neutrality of the perspective, posed problems to a consistent analysis of the participants' answers.

Further research on the construction of the immigrant imagined community through the press would benefit from a comparison of the influence of articles on immigration among participants with different levels of contact with immigrants, for instance regular in opposition to irregular or absent. For a better analysis of the influence of the topic, a choice of articles that promotes exclusively inclusion or exclusion is recommended, seeing as it might reveal clearer patterns of internal and external influences. Finally, in terms of the influence of a set of articles on a similar topic or with a shared point of view, a diachronic study might prove to be more effective.

Overall, this study has contributed to a better perspective on how the information presented in the articles is perceived and interpreted by adolescents. Furthermore, it confirms the role of the media in general and of the press, in particular as a strong source of construction and of reinforcement of identities. Keeping in mind that the world is moving towards globalisation patterns, a quote in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe seems an adequate point of conclusion:

The concept of integration aims at ensuring social cohesion through accommodation of diversity understood as a two-way process. Immigrants have to accept the laws and basic values of European societies and, on the other hand, host societies have to respect immigrants' dignity and distinct identity and to take them into account when elaborating domestic policies.¹

¹ 'Resolution 1437 (2005): Migration and integration: a challenge and an opportunity for Europe' in *Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe* < <http://assembly.coe.int> > [Accessed 7 June 2010].

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Article 1

La « dimension ethnique » de la délinquance en chiffres

Thierry Portes

Le Figaro

15/10/2007

Quelle est la part des enfants d'immigrés dans la délinquance en France ? Assurément grande, à tel point que de parler de la « surreprésentation » des jeunes d'origine étrangère devant les tribunaux ou en prison est devenu un lieu commun. On peut toutefois déplorer qu'aucune statistique officielle ne vienne établir précisément cette réalité. Dans ce domaine comme dans tous ceux touchant à l'immigration, où la tradition républicaine interdit de différencier les personnes françaises nées de parents étrangers, les informations sont parcellaires. En l'an 2000, l'Insee a montré que 40 % des détenus français avaient un père né à l'étranger, dont 25 % au Maghreb. Mais aucune enquête n'a été menée précédemment ni ultérieurement, ce qui ne permet donc pas d'évaluer ce phénomène. Parmi les spécialistes de cette question, Sébastien Roché, en compagnie de Monique Dagnaud, également sociologue au CNRS, a établi la surreprésentation des mineurs d'origine étrangère parmi les jeunes délinquants passant devant les tribunaux de l'Isère. Ils ont mis en évidence « la dimension ethnique » de la délinquance, puisque 66,5 % des jeunes jugés à l'époque en Isère avaient un père né à l'étranger (et pour 49,8 % d'entre eux dans un pays du Maghreb), et 60 % avaient également une mère née hors de l'Hexagone. Les raisons expliquant cette « surreprésentation » sont connues et multiples. Il y a d'abord les données socio-économiques des quartiers dits « sensibles » au bord de la « ghettoïsation ». La pauvreté touche 60 % des familles citées dans cette étude menée dans l'Isère. Les pères sont à 26 % inactifs. Ceux qui ont un emploi sont généralement ouvriers (59% d'entre eux), les mères étant des employées (46%). Les mineurs délinquants recensés sont souvent issus de fratries de quatre frères et sœurs, voire plus. Leurs dossiers font apparaître des violences familiales (40%), des pères alcooliques (20%), l'absence d'un des deux parents du domicile familial (45,5%). Quant à la situation scolaire de ces mineurs, elle est désastreuse : 79

% ont redoublé, 55 % plusieurs fois, et presque 60 % d'entre eux ont été au moins une fois exclus de leur établissement. En fait, ces enfants, notent les deux sociologues, « cumulent tous les handicaps ». À l'appui de ces dires, le sociologue du CNRS cite une enquête qu'il avait conduite en 1999 auprès de 2 300 jeunes de 13 à 19 ans, habitant les agglomérations de Grenoble et de Saint-Étienne. Cet échantillon n'avait pas été choisi par une autorité policière ou judiciaire, et les jeunes sélectionnés s'exprimaient librement devant les sociologues. Et à moins de considérer que la forfanterie est plus grande chez les délinquants d'origine maghrébine, on ne peut qu'être étonné par les résultats de cette étude. Première révélation : l'élévation dans la hiérarchie sociale préserve moins de la délinquance les enfants d'étrangers que ceux nés de parents français. Ainsi, parmi les jeunes ayant un père cadre ou de profession intermédiaire, 21% d'origine étrangère déclaraient avoir commis dix délits ou plus, alors qu'à condition sociale similaire, ces jeunes n'étaient que 12% d'origine française. Deuxième révélation, ainsi résumée par Sébastien Roché : « Plus on va vers des actes graves, plus le contraste augmente. » Dans son étude, parmi les familles modestes (père ouvrier ou employé), 24% des jeunes d'origine étrangère, quasiment exclusivement maghrébine, ont déclaré dix petits délits ou plus, pour 15,5% des jeunes d'origine française. Dans la même catégorie sociale, 18 % des jeunes d'origine étrangère déclarent avoir commis un acte grave, pour 11,5% des jeunes d'origine française. Ils sont 10,5% d'origine étrangère à déclarer trois actes graves, et 5% d'origine française. Les délinquants d'origine tunisienne, marocaine ou d'Afrique noire sont-ils proportionnellement moins nombreux et pour quelles raisons sortent-ils du droit chemin ? Les études et les données ministérielles manquant, le débat peine à s'ouvrir. La conclusion n'en est pas moins évidente. Toutes ces enquêtes prouvent l'échec des politiques d'intégration.

The “ethnic dimension” of delinquency in numbers

Thierry Portes

Le Figaro

15/10/2007

What is the role of the children of immigrants in the delinquency in France? Certainly large, to point that talking about the “overrepresentation” of youth from foreign origin in courts or in prison has become common. We can, however, regret that there are no official statistics which establish precisely that reality. In that regard, as in all that concern immigration, where the republican tradition prohibits differentiating French people born from foreign parents, the information is fragmented. In 2000, the Insee showed that 40% of the arrested French have a parent born abroad, 25% of which in the Maghreb. But no inquiry was led before or afterwards, which does not allow the evaluation of that phenomenon. Among the specialists in that subject, Sébastien Roché, along with Monique Dagnaud, also a sociologist at the CNRS, has established the overrepresentation of minors from foreign origin among the delinquent youth that pass through the courts of Isère. They have put into evidence the “ethnic dimension” of delinquency, since 66.5% of the youth judged at the time in Isère had a parent born abroad (and 49.8% among those in a country from the Maghreb), and 60% also had a mother born outside the Hexagon. The reasons that explain that “overrepresentation” are known and many. Firstly, there is the socio-economical data from the neighbourhoods said “sensitive” on the verge of “ghettoisation”. Poverty touches 60% of the families referred to in that study led in Isère. 26% of the fathers are inactive. Those who have a job are generally workmen (59% of them), the mothers are employees (46%). The delinquent minors in the census are often from families with four brothers and sisters, even more. Their dossiers show family violence (40%), alcoholic parents (20%), the absence of one of the two parents from the household (45.5%). As to the educational situation of these minors, it is disastrous: 79% have repeated a year, 55% many times, and almost 60% among them has been

expelled at least once from their school. In fact, these children, the two sociologists declare, “accumulate all the handicaps”. To support these statements, the sociologist quotes a study he led in 1999 near 2300 young people aged 13 to 19, living in the greater areas of Grenoble and Saint-Etienne. This sample had not been chosen by the police or by a judicial authority, and the young people expressed themselves freely in front of the sociologists. And unless we consider that snobbery is greater in delinquents from the Maghreb, we cannot but to be astonished by the results of that study. First revelation: the rise in social hierarchy preserves less from delinquency children of foreigners than those born from French parents. This way, among young people with a parent in an intermediate management or profession, 21% of foreign origin declared having committed ten offences or more, whereas with a similar social condition, only 12% was of French origin. Second revelation, in this way summarised by Sébastien Roché: “the more we go towards serious offences, the more the contrast increases.” In his study among poor families (father is a workman or employee), 24% of the youth from foreign origin, almost exclusively from the Maghreb, declared having committed ten minor offences or more, in comparison to 15.5% of the youth from French origin. In the same social category, 18% of the youth from foreign origin declared having committed a serious offence, to 11.5% of youth from French origin. They are 10.5% of foreign origin having declared three serious offences, and 5% of French origin. The delinquents of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin, are they proportionately in a smaller number and do they get out of the right path? The studies and the ministry data lacking, makes it difficult for the debate to start. The conclusion is not less evident. All of these inquiries prove the failure of policies of integration.

Appendix 2

Article 2

Un Malien, un Mexicain, un Cambodgien : trois travailleurs appréciés de leurs employeurs et qui répondent aux critères de l'immigration choisie. Pourtant, l'administration reste sourde

Ils ont tout pour être régularisés, mais...

Laetitia Van Eeckhout

Le Monde

08/04/2008

PHEARUN MAN

Phearun Man, dit « Va », est arrivé en France le 5 mars 2007 et, depuis, il attend sa carte de séjour. Car ce Cambodgien, 30 ans aujourd'hui, est entré légalement sur le territoire avec un visa de long séjour et un CDI de cuisinier, visé par l'Agence nationale d'accueil des étrangers et des migrations (ANAEM) et par la direction départementale du travail de Seine-Saint-Denis. Et une première expérience professionnelle à son crédit.

Le métier de cuisinier, Va l'a appris en travaillant dans un restaurant français de Phnom Penh. « J'ai suivi des cours de cuisine avec un chef français », souligne le jeune homme qui, fin 2004, finira par venir passer un mois de vacances en France pour connaître ce pays découvert à travers la cuisine et dont il commence à maîtriser la langue.

Conquis, Va rentre au Cambodge pour revenir deux ans plus tard « avec tous les papiers en règle ». Comme tout primo arrivant, il se rend à l'ANAEM, passe la visite médicale réglementaire et remplit le dossier remis par la préfecture pour obtenir sa carte de séjour. Va n'imagine pas un instant qu'il va tomber dans un dédale administratif.

Fin mai, soit deux mois après avoir transmis son dossier, la préfecture lui demande de fournir de nouvelles pièces dont un extrait d'acte de naissance. « Je l'avais déjà fourni au Cambodge, soupire-t-il. Mais j'en ai refait la demande, ce qui m'a pris deux mois. » Une fois le document remis début août, Va attend encore plus de deux mois avant de recevoir enfin une convocation de la préfecture. Le 12 novembre, il se rend à ce rendez-vous, avec la fébrilité de celui qui sait le sésame à portée de main. L'agent a beau lui assurer que son dossier est complet, à nouveau c'est la déception : toujours pas de récépissé de demande de carte de séjour. Relancée mi-décembre 2007, puis début janvier, la préfecture de police de Paris finit par le renvoyer sur celle de Vendée. Car, entre-temps, son employeur de Bobigny a dû le licencier et Va, grâce à des amis, a retrouvé un emploi aux Sables-d'Olonne.

Mais là, la machine administrative s'emballe. Le 16 janvier, il est interpellé sur son lieu de travail, placé en garde à vue et, douze heures plus tard, transféré au centre de rétention du Mesnil-Amelot (Seine-et-Marne). « Je ne comprenais pas ce qui se passait. Ils n'ont rien voulu dire. Ce n'est qu'en arrivant au Mesnil-Amelot, que j'ai entendu un gendarme dire « Ah ! il y a un vol pour lui demain ! » », raconte Va.

Il faudra in extremis l'intervention de ses amis pour que Va ne monte pas dans l'avion et puisse comparaître devant le juge des libertés et de la détention (JLD). Celui-ci le libérera, tout en l'assignant à résidence avec obligation de se présenter à la police une fois par semaine. Dans le même temps, l'avocat, sollicité par ses amis, dépose un recours devant le tribunal administratif. Sans le savoir, Va était, depuis le 20 novembre 2007, sous le coup d'une obligation à quitter le territoire. Le courrier l'en informant avait été retourné par la poste à la préfecture avec la mention « n'habite pas à l'adresse indiquée ».

Aujourd'hui, Va attend le jugement du tribunal. Son employeur a maintenu son offre de CDI. Il a lui-même déposé auprès de la préfecture une demande d'autorisation de travail pour Va. Requête à laquelle le préfet reste sourd, en dépit des réelles difficultés de recrutement rencontrées sur le bassin d'emploi.

A Malian, a Mexican and a Cambodian: three workers valued by their employers and that match the criteria of chosen immigration. However, the administration remains idle

They have everything to be regularised but...

Laetitia Van Eeckhout

Le Monde

08/04/2008

PHEARUN MAN

Phearun Man, also called “Va”, arrived in France March 5, 2007 and, afterwards, waited for his residence permit. Because this Cambodian, 30 years old today, entered the territory legally with a Long Stay visa and a cook employment contract required by the National Agency of Reception to Foreigners and Migrations (ANAEM) and by the departmental direction of labour of Seine-Saint-Denis. And one first professional experience to his credit.

The cook trade, Va learned it in a French restaurant of Phnom Penh. “I took cooking courses with a French chef”, underlines the young man who, late 2004, would eventually come to spend a month of holidays in France to meet the country discovered through culinary and of which he starts to master the language.

Conquered, Va goes back to Cambodia to come back two years later “with all the documents in order”. Like all newly arrived immigrants, he goes to the ANAEM, passes the medical visit required and fills in the dossier provided by the prefecture to obtain his residence permit. Va does not imagine for an instant that he is going to get caught in red tape.

End of May, that is two months after he submitted his dossier, the prefecture asks him to produce new evidence, among which an extract of a birth certificate. “I had already provided that in Cambodia,” he sighs, “but I did the request again, which took me two months”. Once that document was submitted in the beginning of August, Va waits two more months before receiving, at least, a call from the prefecture. November 12, he goes to the meeting, with the nervousness of those who knows the sesame to be at their fingertips. The agent might as well ensure that his dossier is complete, once again there is disappointment: still no receipt of demand of a residence permit. Returned mid-December 2007 and in beginning January, the prefecture of the Paris police ends up by sending it to the one in Vendée. Because in the meanwhile his employer from Bobigny had to lay him off and Va, thanks to friends, found a job in Sables-d’Olonne.

But there, the administrative machine gets out of control. January 16 he is arrested in his workplace, taken into custody in plain sight and, twelve hours later, transferred to the Mesnil-Amelot (Seine-et-Mame) retention centre. “I didn’t understand what was happening. They didn’t want to say anything. Only when I arrived to Mesnil-Amelot, I heard a policeman saying “Ah! There is a flight for him tomorrow,” tells Va.

It would be necessary the intervention from his friends for Va not to go on the plane and so that we could appear at the Judge of civil liberties and of detention (JLD). He would free him, putting him under house arrest with the obligation of presenting himself to the police, once a week. At the same time, the lawyer, requested by his friends, presents an appeal to the Administrative court. Without knowing it, Va was, since November 20, 2007, under the obligation to quit the territory. The mail informing him had been returned by the post to the prefecture with the comment “undeliverable as addressed”.

Today, Va waits the decision from the court. His employer has maintained his offer of CDI. He has personally requested at the prefecture a demand of work permit to Va. Request to which the head of department remains deaf, despite the real recruitment difficulties at the labour pool.

Appendix 3

Article 3

L'enseignement, débouché sans préjugés pour enfants d'immigrés

Véronique Soulé

Libération

16/01/2008

«Dans ma famille, ils sont contents pour moi. C'est encore plus prestigieux parce que je suis maghrébin. C'est pas comme si j'avais été fils d'instituteur. Ça fait une promotion sociale d'un coup ! C'est vrai que d'enseigner le français alors que ma mère ne le parle ni ne l'écrit, ça fait encore plus plaisir.» Avant d'enseigner, Hassan avait tâtonné, essayant le droit puis la communication. Il avait aussi fait des tas de petits boulots - ouvrier du bâtiment, livreur de médicaments, vendeur sur les marchés. Enseigner, il n'y pensait pas. *«Peut-être parce que j'avais l'horizon trop restreint.»*

«Modèle». Hassan est l'un des témoins de l'une des rares études consacrées aux enseignants issus des immigrations (1). Loin des images de banlieues en feu, elle renvoie une vision plus optimiste. Et décrit un phénomène mal connu : les jeunes issus de l'immigration se dirigent de plus en plus vers l'enseignement, un monde qu'ils jugent neutre et moins perméable aux discriminations. Alors que l'école n'arrive plus à gommer les inégalités, les creusant même parfois, *«pour eux l'ascenseur social fonctionne encore. Ils sont même les produits achevés du modèle républicain»*, assure le sociologue Aïssa Kadri, qui a dirigé la recherche commandée par le syndicat SE-Unsa.

Selon Aïssa Kadri, aujourd'hui ils constituent près de 30 % des candidats aux concours pour être enseignants dans l'académie de Créteil, dans la banlieue parisienne. Selon une enquête réalisée en 2003, 18 % sont *«issus des immigrations»* - au moins un de leurs parents est de nationalité étrangère ou né à l'étranger. Il faudrait aujourd'hui revoir ce chiffre à la hausse.

Origines. En majorité, ces enseignants sont d'origine maghrébine - d'abord d'Algérie -, mais aussi d'Afrique subsaharienne, d'Europe du Sud et de l'Est. A titre de comparaison, la population totale immigrée en Ile-de-France est de 14,7 %. Dans certains établissements de Seine-Saint-Denis, ils forment la majorité des enseignants. On compte aussi des CPE (conseillers principaux d'éducation), des directeurs et des adjoints d'établissement. Mais l'évolution s'est faite sans bruit. Comme s'ils s'étaient fondus dans la masse au point de faire désormais partie du paysage. A bien des égards d'ailleurs, ils ne se distinguent guère de leurs collègues : ils croient au modèle républicain, à l'intégration par l'école et aux valeurs laïques. Comme *«les Français de souche»*, ils déchantent aussi devant un métier qui se dévalorise et devant leur impuissance face à tous les problèmes qui rejaillissent à l'école. Enfin, les femmes sont aussi très majoritaires à choisir ce métier, notamment dans le primaire. Reste que, pour tous, un facteur a été décisif dans leur réussite : l'investissement et le soutien de leurs parents. *«Sinon, en raison de leurs origines - 70 % sont issus des couches populaires, essentiellement ouvrières -, ils étaient voués aux filières courtes»*, souligne Aïssa Kadri. Ils ont toutefois des particularités. D'abord, ils s'intéressent à ce qui se passe dans le monde et en France, et sont effrayés par l'indifférence de leurs collègues. Ensuite, même s'ils ne veulent pas être *«le beur de service»*, ils se sentent souvent une responsabilité particulière à l'égard des élèves issus de l'immigration. Et savent qu'ils sont regardés autrement. *«Pour ces élèves, le professeur est l'un des leurs et il a réussi, c'est donc un motif de fierté, explique Aïssa Kadri, mais d'autres se disent : on va en profiter, avec lui on va pouvoir négocier.»*

Parmi les autres différences, ces nouveaux enseignants préfèrent les matières scientifiques - maths, physique, SVT, éco-gestion - et l'histoire. Ils se sentent moins à l'aise en français. Sur la crise de l'école, ils dénoncent comme les autres le manque de moyens. Mais ils renvoient bien davantage au contexte, à la surmédiatisation et à l'air du temps qui nourrissent les clichés. Enfin, les plus jeunes rêvent d'une école où l'on valoriserait la diversité et où l'on enseignerait l'histoire de l'immigration. L'étude les appelle les *«écorchés vifs»*.

Education, unblocked without prejudice to the children of immigrants

Véronique Soulé

Libération

16/01/2008

“In my family, they are all happy for me. It’s even more prestigious because I am from the Maghreb. It’s not as if I was the son of a school teacher. It’s a social promotion at a stretch! It’s true that to teach French when my mother doesn’t speak it or write it, it gives me even more pleasure.” Before teaching, Hassan had groped about, trying law and then communication. He had also done small jobs – builder’s labourer, medicine deliverer, merchant in the markets. Teaching, he had not considered it. *“Maybe because I had a rather narrow horizon.”*

Hassan is one of the witnesses of one of the rare studies dedicated to the teachers coming from immigration. Far from the images of the suburbs on fire, it remits to a more optimistic vision. And it describes a phenomenon not very well known: the youth coming from immigration heads more and more towards education, a world that they judge neutral and less permeable to discriminations. Even if the school does not manage to erase inequalities, sometimes even deepening them, *“to them the social elevator still functions. They are the achieved products of the republican model,”* reinsures the sociologist Aïssa Kadri, who directs the research commanded by the union SE-Unsa.

According to Aïssa Kadri, today they constitute nearly 30% of the candidates to the examination to be a teacher at the Academy of Créteil, in the Parisian suburbs. According to an inquiry carried out in 2003, 18% are “coming from immigration” – at least on their parents is of foreigner nationality or born in a foreign country. Today, that number would have to be lifted.

In the majority, these teachers are from the Maghreb – mainly from Algeria – but also from the Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern and Eastern Europe. As a comparison, the total immigrant population in Ile-de-France is of 14.7%. In some establishments from Seine-Saint-Denis, they form the majority of teachers. We also count the CPE (main advisers of education), headmasters, and deputy directors. But the evolution has been done without any noise. As if they were blended in the masses to the point of making, from then on, part of the landscape. In many aspects, they are not distinguished from their colleagues: they believe in the republican model, in integration through school, in secular values. Like the “pure-breed French”, they also become disenchanted when faced with a job that it’s devalued and faced with their powerlessness against all the problems that spurt in school. At last, the women are the great majority choosing this job, particularly in elementary school. Nevertheless, for all for all of them, there is a decisive factor to their success: the investment and the support of their parents. *“Otherwise, because of their origins – 70% are from working-class, mainly workmen –, they were destined to the short courses”,* underlines Aïssa Kadri. They have nonetheless some particularities. First of all, they are interested in what happens in the world and in France; they are frightened by the indifference of their colleagues. Then, even if they do not want to be the “*beur* on call”, they often feel that they have a special responsibility towards the students coming from immigration. And they know that they are looked at differently. *“For these students, the teacher is one of them and he has achieved, it is therefore a motif of pride,”* explains Aïssa Kadri, *“but others tell themselves: we will make the most of it, with him we can negotiate.”*

Among other differences, these new teachers prefer scientific subjects – Maths, Physics, Sciences of life and earth, Eco-management, and History. They feel less comfortable with French. About the crisis in school, they accuse, as others do, the lack of resources. But they refer to much more to the context, the over mediatisation and the fashions that feed the clichés. Finally, the youngest dream of a school where diversity is valued and where the history of immigration it will be taught. The study calls them “skinned alive”.

Appendix 4

Article 4

“Crimes cometidos pelos imigrantes não aumentaram”

Raquel Moleiro

Expresso

04/10/2008

Avesso a entrevistas, o homem encarregado de fiscalizar a imigração em Portugal fala ao Expresso e garante que a vaga de crimes não pode ser relacionada com os estrangeiros.

Os imigrantes estão na origem do recente aumento da criminalidade?

Não há nenhum dado objectivo que comprove tal relação.

O assalto ao BES, o homicídio do ourives de Setúbal... foram praticados por estrangeiros.

São casos isolados, cometidos por cidadãos não integrados na sociedade. Sempre que há a identificação de estrangeiros em crimes, a PSP, a GNR, a PJ pedem ao SEF os antecedentes criminais desses indivíduos e posso garantir-lhe que essas consultas não dispararam. É preciso não cair na demagogia.

Foi o secretário-geral do Gabinete Coordenador de Segurança quem afirmou que “os estrangeiros são cada vez mais responsáveis pelo aumento da criminalidade violenta em Portugal”.

É uma mensagem errada. Se esta conexão entre imigração e criminalidade se enraíza no tecido social pode levar a uma desestabilização gravíssima. É assim que se alimentam sentimentos perigosos, como prova o cartaz do PNR. Dou-lhe outro dado que contraria a tese do general Leonel de Carvalho. Sabe quantos estrangeiros foram expulsos este ano após cumprimento de pena de prisão? 125. O ano passado foram 136. Nós temos 435.736 imigrantes legais! Que crimes praticaram? Principalmente tráfico de estupefacientes. Mas a maioria são correios de droga detectados nos aeroportos. Não é o indivíduo da Fonte Nova (Setúbal) nem da Cova da Moura (Amadora). São apanhados à entrada, dificilmente contribuem para a criminalidade no país. Por roubo há sete casos, furto qualificado cinco, homicídio três... São dígitos.

Numa operação do SEF, que o Expresso acompanhou, muitos dos brasileiros detidos tinham chegado por Paris e Madrid e entrado em Portugal por terra, para fugir ao controlo da Portela.

Nós temos 65 voos semanais do Brasil, a Portela é usada em massa. Mas não é novidade que há determinados «modus operandi» usados pelos ilegais. Existe, por isso, uma cooperação especial com França e Espanha. E há habitualmente funcionários do SEF no aeroporto de Madrid. Quem tem antecedentes criminais nunca passa automaticamente nos aeroportos nacionais. E passa nos aeroportos europeus? Não deveria, mas a verdade é que o nosso sistema de controlo da fronteira é de vanguarda a nível da UE. Os outros ainda não estão ao nosso nível.

Depois de notificados, os ilegais ficam em liberdade. Como se garante que deixam efectivamente o país? Edivaldo ficou e cometeu o homicídio.

As normas comunitárias, nomeadamente a polémica Directiva de Retorno, prevê um máximo de vinte dias para abandonar o país. Se não o fizerem, numa segunda detecção podem ser detidos. Quando um ilegal tem antecedentes criminais ou policiais não há um primeiro prazo. São logo detidos e expulsos para o país de origem.

É verdade que os brasileiros estão isentos de apresentar o registo criminal no acto de legalização?

Não precisam de apresentar registo criminal porque o SEF tem acesso directo, «online», à base de dados da polícia federal do Brasil. Quem tem antecedentes criminais nunca será legalizado.

“Crimes committed by immigrants did not increase”

Raquel Moleiro

Expresso

04/10/2008

Not in favour of interviews, the man in charge of supervising immigration in Portugal talks to Expresso and guarantees that the wave of crimes cannot be related to foreigners.

Are immigrants the origin of the recent increase in criminality?

There is no objective data proving that they are related.

The robbery to BES, the homicide of the Setúbal jeweller... they were committed by foreigners.

Those are isolated cases, committed by citizens who are not integrated in society. Every time foreigners are identified in crimes, PSP, GNR and PJ ask SEF for the criminal background of those individuals, and I can guarantee you that these requests have not increased.

It was the General Secretary of the Coordinator Cabinet for Security who affirmed that “foreigners are increasingly responsible for the increase of violent crimes in Portugal”.

It is a wrong message. If this link between immigration and criminality is rooted in the social tissue it can lead to a severe destabilisation. This is how dangerous feelings are fed, as shown by the PNR poster. I will give you another figure that will contradict the theory of General Leonel de Carvalho. Do you know how many foreigners were expelled this year after completing their term in jail? 125. Last year there were 136. We have 435.736 legal immigrants! What crimes did they commit? Mainly traffic of narcotics. But mostly they are drug smugglers detected in airports. It is not the individual from Fonte Nova (Setúbal) or Cova da Moura (Amadora). They are caught when they come in, and hardly contribute to the country's criminality rate. There are seven cases for stealing, five for qualified theft, three for homicide... these are figures.

In a SEF operation that Expresso followed, many of the arrested Brazilians had arrived to Paris and Madrid and entered Portugal via land, so as to escape the Portela control.

We have 65 weekly flights from Brazil, Portela is extremely used. But it is not news that there are certain “modus operandi” used by illegal immigrants. There is, for that reason, a special cooperation with France and Spain. And there are, usually, SEF at the Madrid airport. Those who have a criminal background are never automatically allowed in national airports. And in European airports? They shouldn't, but the truth is that our borders control system is ahead of those of the EU. Others are still not at our level.

After being notified, illegal immigrants remain free. How do you guarantee that they do, in effect, leave the country? Edivaldo stayed and committed murder.

Community norms, namely the controversial Return Directive, foresee a maximum of twenty days to leave the country. If they do not do so, and if they are detected a second time they can be arrested. When an illegal has a criminal background there is not a first deadline. They are immediately arrested and deported to their country of origin.

Is it true that Brazilians are exempt from presenting a criminal record in the legalisation process?

They do not need to present a criminal record because SEF has direct access, “online”, to the Brazilian federal police's database. Those who have a criminal background are never legalised.

Appendix 5

Article 5

Redimentos prejudicam reagrupamento familiar dos imigrantes

Inês Cardoso, César Santos Jornal de Notícias 29/12/2008

Quanto vale um contrato de trabalho para um imigrante? Para começar, a hipótese de residir legalmente em Portugal. Mas quando se tem família no país de origem e quer trazê-la para junto de si, pode valer mais do que isso. Fazer prova de meios de subsistência é uma das condições para o reagrupamento familiar.

E muitos imigrantes vêm esse pedido recusado por uma fatia substancial dos seus rendimentos reais não ser declarada pelos patrões.

Os meios de subsistência estão definidos na portaria 1563/2007, publicada em Dezembro do ano passado. Têm como base o salário mínimo e vão crescendo à medida que aumenta o agregado familiar. A associação Solidariedade Imigrante assegura que tem dado apoio a muitos imigrantes que têm rendimentos suficientes, mas não declarados pelas entidades patronais.

O SEF recorda, "como prova do bom funcionamento" dos princípios legais, o segundo lugar atribuído a Portugal, entre os 27 Estados-Membros, num estudo que avaliou a integração de imigrantes, "tendo como um dos critérios o reagrupamento".

Ivete Varela, Cabo Verde

Conta a sua história com respostas curtas, mas directas. Repete o número diário de horas de trabalho, perante a incredulidade de quem ouve, e nada lhe parece custar. Mas quando confessa que não vê os filhos há quatro anos, tantos como os que leva fora do seu arquipélago, Ivete Varela não consegue conter uma lágrima que limpa discretamente.

Fala constantemente com os dois filhos, de 13 e 15 anos. "Todos os dias me pedem para vir para Portugal". No passado dia 4 de Junho formalizou o pedido nesse sentido, por já dispor de autorização de residência. Em Novembro recebeu a resposta negativa, por ter baixos rendimentos na declaração de IRS do ano passado.

Ivete vai decompondo as parcelas das sombrias contas. Trabalha em limpezas, em três empresas diferentes. Das 6 às 9 da manhã declara quanto recebe: aproximadamente 150 euros. Um segundo "turno", o principal, vai das 9 às 17 horas. Mais uma vez tem contrato, mas nele estão inscritos 250 euros, apesar de receber 425. Como se a situação fosse piorando com o cair do dia, no último emprego é ainda pior. Trabalha das 18 às 20 horas e pura e simplesmente não tem contrato.

O marido também vive e trabalha em Lisboa, mas perante as autoridades não existe. "Esteve detido e por isso não lhe dão autorização de residência", afirma. Por isso o pedido de reagrupamento ignora forçosamente que no agregado há duas fontes de rendimento.

Os filhos vivem com a sua mãe e Ivete não duvida que estão bem entregues, mas quer "recuperá-los" depois de quatro anos de ausência. A voz sufocada denuncia o aperto no peito. "Tenho muitas saudades, mesmo".

No SEF informaram que havia forma de fazer prova das condições de subsistência, nomeadamente partilhando a renda da casa com alguém. "Já conseguimos isso e entregámos os documentos, portanto os contactos continuam". Tal como a esperança de chegar a bom porto.

Income harms the family regrouping of immigrants

Inês Cardoso, César Santos Jornal de Notícias 29/12/2008

How much is a working contract worth for an immigrant? To begin with, it can mean the chance to legally reside in Portugal. But when he has a family in the country of origin and wants to bring it close to him, it can be worth more than that. Giving proof of subsistence is one of the conditions to regroup family.

And many immigrants see that request being refused because a substantial portion of their real wages is not declared by their employers.

The means of subsistence are defined in the decree 1563/2007, published in December last year. They start with minimum wage and grow as the members of the households increase. The association Immigrant Solidarity guarantees that it has provided support to many immigrants who have a sufficient income, but which is not declared by the employers.

SEF reminds, “as proof of the good functioning” of legal principles, of the second place given to Portugal among the 27 Member States, in a study that evaluated the integration of immigrants “taking into account family regrouping as one of the criteria”.

Ivete Varela, Cape Verde

She tells her story with short but straightforward answers. She repeats her daily working hours before the incredulity of those who listen, and she doesn't make it sound difficult. But when she confesses that she hasn't seen her children for four years, just as many as those she has spent outside her archipelago, Ivete Varela cannot help a tear that she cleans discretely.

She speaks constantly to her two children, aged 13 and 15. “Every day they ask me to come to Portugal”. Last July 4 she made her request official, as she now has a residence permit. In November she received a negative answer, due to the low income declared in last year's tax form.

Ivete starts analyzing the different parts of her income. She works as a cleaner in three different companies. From 6am to 9am she declares as much as she receives: approximately €150. A second “shift”, the main one, goes from 9am to 5pm. Once again, she has a contract, but in there the declared income is of €250, despite receiving €425. As if the situation was getting worse throughout the day, her last job is even worse. She works from 6pm to 8pm and she just doesn't have a contract at all.

Her husband also lives and works in Lisbon, but he doesn't exist to the authorities. “He was arrested and now they won't give him a residence permit”, she states. As a result, the family regrouping request ignores that there are two sources of income in the household.

The children live with her mother and Ivete doesn't doubt that they are well taken care of, but she wants to “recover them” after four years apart. The smothering voice betrays her pain, “I miss them very much”.

At the SEF (Borders and Immigration Office) she was informed that there was a way of proving conditions for subsistence, namely by sharing the rent with someone. “We have done that and we have delivered the documents, so the contacts continue”. As so does hope of reaching a good solution.

Appendix 6

Article 6

Imigrantes de Lisboa chumbam duas vezes mais que em Madrid

Micael Pereira

Expresso

6/02/2010

Estudo compara filhos de imigrantes do Vale da Amoreira e da Cova da Moura com os de bairros noutras cidades europeias.

Na Cova da Moura e no Vale da Amoreira, dois dos bairros problemáticos da grande Lisboa, mais de dois terços (71,7%) dos jovens descendentes de imigrantes chumbaram pelo menos uma vez na escola, de acordo com um estudo concluído em Janeiro deste ano por duas investigadoras do Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia (CIES) do ISCTE, em Lisboa.

O trabalho faz parte de um projecto internacional, financiado pela Comissão Europeia, sobre o nível de inclusão de imigrantes de segunda geração e que compara bairros críticos em nove cidades de seis países europeus (Portugal, Espanha, França, Holanda, Alemanha e Itália).

Beatriz Padilla e Alejandra Ortiz, ambas do CIES, entrevistaram 567 jovens e estiveram em seis escolas dos dois bairros da grande Lisboa.

Das cidades estudadas, Lisboa é a que apresenta a maior taxa de insucesso escolar, com os jovens entre os 15 e os 24 anos a registarem valores próximos do dobro do que acontece nos bairros críticos de Madrid (39% de chumbos) e bem acima de Barcelona (42,5%) e do Porto (45,9%), chegando quase ao triplo do verificado em Roma (26,2%).

Lisboa é também a única cidade em que, dentro dos bairros, há uma grande diferença entre os descendentes de imigrantes e os filhos de cidadãos portugueses, cuja taxa de chumbo ronda os 40% na Cova da Moura e no Vale da Amoreira.

As duas investigadoras do CIES argumentam num dos seus relatórios finais que os resultados obtidos em Lisboa “podem ser explicados pelas capacidades limitadas do sistema de ensino nos países de origem dos imigrantes – vindos sobretudo de África – e também pelas dificuldades no período de transição no país de acolhimento. Mesmo considerando que a maioria deles vem de países de língua portuguesa, muitos falam outras línguas e dialectos, principalmente de Cabo Verde e da Guiné-Bissau, o que dificulta a comunicação com os estudantes e com os pais deles”.

Além do inquérito, que incluiu ainda 300 entrevistados no Porto, Beatriz Padilla e Alejandra Ortiz passaram mais de um mês no Vale da Amoreira (Moite), no verão de 2008, com uma colega antropóloga do CIES, Vera Rodrigues, a observar a vida dos jovens no bairro. Muitos sentem-se discriminados por causa da cor da pele (mais de 40%).

No final, chegaram a uma série de recomendações. “Falta uma maior coordenação por parte do Governo nos programas de apoio”, diz Beatriz Padilla. “E os jovens acham que em vez de enviarem pessoas de fora para trabalhar nesses programas, as instituições podiam contratar habitantes dos próprios bairros, porque há gente válida e com formação”.

Immigrants from Lisbon fail twice as much as those from Madrid

Micael Pereira

Expresso

6/02/2010

A study compares the children of immigrants from Vale da Amoreira and Cova da Moura with those from neighbourhoods in other European cities.

In Cova da Moura and Vale da Amoreira, two problematic neighbourhoods of greater Lisbon, over two thirds (71.7%) of the adolescents descendant of immigrants have to repeat a year at least once in school, according to a study completed in January this year by two investigators of the Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia (CIES) of ISCTE, in Lisbon.

The assignment was part of an international project, supported by the European Commission, about the level of inclusion of second generation immigrants, which compares critical neighbourhoods in nine cities of six European countries (Portugal, Spain, France, Netherlands, Germany and Italy).

Beatriz Padilla and Alejandra Ortiz, both from CIES, interviewed 567 youngsters and were in six schools of the two Lisbon neighbourhoods.

From the studied cities, Lisbon is that which presents the greatest rate of school failure, with youngsters aged 15 to 24 registering values close to double of those in the neighbourhoods of Madrid (39%) and well above those of Barcelona (42.5%) and Porto (45.9%), reaching nearly thrice as much as those of Rome (26.2%).

Lisbon is also the single city in which, within the neighbourhoods, there is a great difference between the descendants of immigrants and the children of Portuguese citizens, whose fail rate is about 40% in Cova da Moura and Vale da Amoreira.

The two CIES investigators argue in one of their final reports that the results obtained in Lisbon “can be explained by the limited capabilities of the educational system in the immigrants’ countries of origin – who come mainly from Africa – and also by the difficulties during the transition period in the host country. Even considering that most of them come from countries where Portuguese is spoken, many speak other languages and dialects, mainly those from Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, which makes it difficult to communicate with the students and their parents”.

Besides the inquiry, that also included 300 interviewees in Porto, Beatriz Padilla and Alejandra Ortiz spent over one month in Vale da Amoreira (Moite), in the summer of 2008, with an anthropologist from CIES, Vera Rodrigues, observing the life of the youngsters of the neighbourhood. Many feel discriminated because of their skin colour (over 40%).

In the end, they reached a number of recommendations. “We lack a greater coordination of the government in the support programmes”, states Beatriz Padilla. “And the youngsters believe that instead of sending outsiders to work in those programmes, the institutions could hire inhabitants from those neighbourhoods, because there are valid people with training”.

Appendix 7

Questionnaires

Questionnaire

a) Information Générale

Sexe M ☐ F ☐

Âge _____

Nationalité _____ Langue Maternelle _____

Vous lisez des journaux : Jamais ☐ Rarement ☐ Tous les jours ☐

Une fois par semaine ☐ Une fois par mois ☐

Lesquels ? _____

b) L'Article

1- Numéro de l'article lu : 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐

2- Connaissez-vous le journal où cet article a été publié ? a) Oui ☐ b) Non ☐

3- Croyez-vous que ce journal est objectif ? a) Oui ☐ b) Non ☐

4- À votre avis, le contenu de l'article est : a) Positive ☐ b) Négative ☐ c) Neutre ☐

5- Choisissez 5 mots-clés dans cet article: _____

6- Quel est le thème de l'article? _____

7- Choisissez 5 mots qui caractérisent les immigrants, selon l'article : _____

8- Quels sont les preuves les plus solides présentées par le journaliste ?

9- Croyez-vous que cet article est objectif? a) Oui ☐ b) Non ☐ c) Je ne suis pas sûre ☐

10- Croyez-vous que l'article donne une image juste des immigrants en France ? Expliquez.

11- Généralement, vous diriez qu'après lire cet article votre perspective des immigrants en France est plus: a) Positive ☐ b) Négative ☐ c) Aucun changement ☐

12- Décrivez comment cet article a influencé votre vision personnelle des immigrants :

12- Faites-vous confiance à cet article ? a) Oui ☐ b) Non ☐ c) Je ne suis pas sûre ☐

c) Avez-vous des opinions ou suggestions pour la résolution du problème présenté dans l'article ?

Questionário

a) Informação Geral

Sexo M ☐ F ☐

Idade _____

Nacionalidade _____ *Língua Materna* _____

Lê jornais: Nunca ☐ Raramente ☐ Diariamente ☐
 Semanalmente ☐ Mensalmente ☐

Se sim, quais? _____

b) O Artigo

1- Número do Artigo que leu: 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐

2- Conhece o jornal onde este artigo foi publicado? a) Sim ☐ b) Não ☐

3- Acredita que este jornal seja objectivo? a) Sim ☐ b) Não ☐ c) Tenho dúvidas ☐

4- O conteúdo que leu é, para si: a) Positivo ☐ b) Negativo ☐ c) Neutro ☐

5- Escolha 5 palavras chave no artigo que leu: _____

6- Qual é o tema do artigo?

7- Escolha 5 palavras que caracterizem os imigrantes, segundo o artigo:

8- Quais são as provas mais sólidas apresentadas pelo jornalista?

9- Acredita que este artigo seja objectivo? a) Sim ☐ b) Não ☐ c) Tenho dúvidas ☐

10- Acredita que este artigo apresente uma uma visão justa dos imigrantes em Portugal? Explique.

11- Em geral, diria que, após este artigo, a sua perspectiva deste grupo é mais:

a) Positiva ☐

b) Negativa ☐

c) Sem alterações ☐

12- Descreva se e como o artigo influenciou a sua visão pessoal do grupo em questão:

13- Acredita no conteúdo do artigo? a) Sim ☐ b) Não ☐ c) Tenho dúvidas ☐

c) Tem opiniões ou sugestões para a resolução do problema apresentado no artigo?

Appendix 8

Ethics Committee Approval Form

2 June 2010

Applicant: Ana Sofia Guerreiro
School of Modern Languages

Ethics Reference No: ML6419

Please quote this ref on all correspondence

Project Title: The making of the immigrant identity in the press: Constructing the immigrant imagined community in Portugal and France.

Researchers Name(s): Ana Sofia Guerreiro

Supervisor(s): Dr Elise Hugueny-Leger

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered by the School Ethics Committee meeting on 16.04.10. The following documents were reviewed:

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Ethical Application Form | 06.04.10 |
| 2. Participant Information Sheet | 06.04.10 |
| 3. Consent Form | <dated> |
| 4. Debriefing Form | <dated> |
| 5. External Permissions | <dated> |
| 6. Letters to Parents/Children/Headteacher etc... | 06.01.10 |
| 7. Questionnaires | 06.04.10 |
| 8. Enhanced Disclosure Scotland and Equivalent | <dated> |
- (as necessary)
9. Confirmation from Headteachers to confirm permission
09.04.10 and 31.05.10

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for completion within the stated time period. Projects, which have not commenced within the time given must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf>) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely,
Hazel Larg, School Secretary
On behalf of the Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Appendix 9

Frequency Table of Vocabulary in the Articles

Art	Cultural Traits						Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral		Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
1			Snobbery	1	Ethnic	2			Of foreign origin	6	Youth	8
									Delinquent	4	Overrepresentation	3
									Delinquency	3	From the Maghreb	2
									Workman	2	Family	2
									Born abroad	2	Court	2
									Ghettoisation	1	Immigration	1
									Alcoholic	1	Of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin	1
									Born outside the Hexagon	1	Children of Immigrants	1
									Poverty	1	Employees	1
									Inactive	1	Neighbourhood	1
									French people born from foreign parents	1		
									Children of foreigners	1		
									Handicap	1		
									Prison	1		

2					Language	1	Regularisation	1	Judge of civil liberties and of detention (JLD)	1	Prefecture	6
							Legal	1	Red tape	1	Residence permit	3
							Valued workers	1			Administration	3
											National Agency of Reception to Foreigners and Migrations (ANAEM)	2
											Court	2
											Cambodian	2
											Cook	2
											Mexican	1
											Malian	1
											Immigration	1
											Newly arrived immigrant	1
											Documents	1
											Visa	1
3	Communication	1	They	18	Secular values	1	Teacher	5	Children of foreigners	1	Coming from immigration	4
	Special responsibility	1	Them	1			School	5	Of foreign nationality	1	Youth	2
	Pride	1	The <i>beur</i> on call	1			Evolution	2	Discrimination	1	Student	2
	Happy	1	Cliché	1			Accomplished products	1	Working-class	1	From the Maghreb	2

	Pure-breed French	1	Impotence	1			Adviser	1	Workman	1	Children of Immigrants	1
			Different	1			Headmaster	1	Small Jobs	1	From Algeria	1
							Deputy director	1	Inequality	1	Merchant	1
							Integration	1			Deliverer	1
							Prestigious	1			Family	1
							Social Promotion	1				
4							Legal	1	Foreigner	5	Immigrant	2
									Criminality	4	Brazilian	2
									Criminal background	4	Individual	2
									Borders and Immigration Office (SEF)	4	Immigration	2
									Illegal	3		
									Criminal record	2		
									Prison	1		
									Drug smugglers	1		
									Non-integrated citizen	1		
5	Hope	1	Non-existent	1			Contract	3	Borders and Immigration Office (SEF)	2	Immigrant	5
	Longing	1					Integration	1	Minimum wage	1	Income	5
	Smothering voice	1					Legal	1			Regrouping	4
	Discreet	1									Subsistence	3
	Straightforward	1									Residence permit	2

	Crunch in the chest	1								Family	1	
										Documents	1	
6	Communication	1	Other languages and dialects	1			School	2	Critical	1	Neighbourhood	8
	Portuguese language	1	Different	1					Problematic	1	Youth	5
									Difficulties	1	Descendant from immigrants	3
									School failure	1	Immigrant	2
											Children of immigrants	1
											Second generation immigrants	1
Art	Active Actions					Passive Actions						
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral		Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
1			Serious offence	3					Judged	1		
			Offence	2					Excluded	1		
			Violence	2								
			Repeat a year	1								
			Absence	1								
2	Work	1	Quit	1	Wait	3	Freed	1	Conquered	1	Transferred	1
	Master	1			To produce (law)	2			Taken into custody	1		
	Learn	1			To appear (law)	1			Laid off	1		
	Know	1			Come back	1						
					Arrive	1						

				Fill in	1						
				Obtain	1						
3	Teach	4	Not to talk	1	Prefer	1	Blended in	1	Skinned alive	1	
	Try	1	Not to write	1			Not distinguished	1			
	Choose	1	Grope about	1							
	Achieve	1	Disenchant	1							
	Be interested in	1									
	Dream	1									
	Believe	1									
	Invest	1									
	Support	1									
4			Crimes	4					Arrested	3	
			Homicide	3					Expelled	2	
			Commit	3					Detected	1	
			Robbery	3					Caught	1	
			Drug dealing	1					Identification	1	
			Escape	1							
5	Work	3	Absence	1	Reside	1			Refused	1	Informed
	Confess	1			Live	1			Not declared	1	
	Achieve	1							Arrested	1	
	Not to doubt	1									
	Declare	1									
6			Fail	4	Come	2			Discriminated	1	

Appendix 10

Frequency Table of Vocabulary Drawn by the Participants

Art	Cultural Traits						Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral		Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
1					Ethnic	2			Delinquent	6	Black African, Tunisian or Moroccan	8
									Foreigner	5	From the Maghreb	4
									Ghettoisation	4	Court	3
									Poverty	4	Youth	2
									Delinquency	3	Overrepresentation	2
									Prison	3	Immigration	1
									Documents	1		
									Handicap	1		
2					Language	1	Valued workers	6	Foreigner	6	Residence permit	7
							Regularisation	5	JLD (Judge of civil liberties and of detention)	3	Prefecture	5
							Legal	1	Difficulties	2	National Agency of Reception to Foreigners and Migrations (ANAEM)	4
									Red tape	1	Court	4
											Administration	3
											Documents	3

											Visa	3
											Cambodian	2
											Newly arrived immigrant	2
3	Fierce	3	Cliché	2	Secular values	1	Evolution	2	Discrimination	3	Coming from immigration	7
	Pure-breed French	1	They	1			Social promotion	2	Foreigner	1	From the Maghreb	6
			Them	1					Workman	1	Youth	1
									Inequality	1	Student	
									Of foreign nationality			
4							Legal	6	Illegal	15	Immigrant	9
									Criminality	11	Brazilian	2
									Foreigner	3		
									Criminal background	3		
									Drug smugglers	3		
									Non-integrated citizen	2		
									Borders and Immigration Office (SEF)	2		
									Criminal record	1		
5							Contract	4	Borders and Immigration Office (SEF)	1	Income	9

							Integration	2			Family	8
							Legal	1			Regrouping	4
											Subsistence	3
											Immigration	2
											Residence permit	2
6	Communication	3	Different	2			School	2	Difficulties	6	Immigrant	7
			Dialects	2					Problematic	5	Neighbourhood	7
											Youth	2
Art	Active Actions						Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral		Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
1			Serious offence	1					Arrested	1		
			Offence	1								
2	Know	1	Quit	2	Arrive	1			Discriminated	1		
	Master	1										
3	Teach	5							Skinned alive	1		
	Achieve	1							Identification	1		
4			Drug dealing	6								
			Crime	3								
			Homicide	1								
			Robbery	1								
5	Work	6			Live	2						
6			Fail	7					Discriminated	7		

Appendix 11

Frequency Table of Vocabulary Introduced by the Participants

Art	Cultural Traits						Socio-Economical Traits					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral		Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
1												
2	Preserverance	1							Foreigner	6		
									Difficulties	2		
									Illegal	1		
3												
4	Good people	2	Individualist	1					Criminal	4	Worker	1
	Serious people	1							Dangerous	1		
	Safe	1							Prisoner	1		
	Smart	1							Thief	1		
	Harmless	1							Stigma	1		
5	Fighter	4	Sad	2					Illegal	2	Worker	6
	Suffering	3	Unhappy	1					Precarious	1	People	2
	Humble	1							Disgrace	1		
	Honest	1							Unemployment	1		
	Brave	1							Low salaries	1		
	With goals	1										
6			Not adapted	1								
			Incompetent	1								
			Unmotivated	1								
			Uninterested	1								
			Unengaged	1								

Art	Active Actions						Passive Actions					
	Praising		Deflating		Neutral		Praising		Deflating		Neutral	
1												
2												
3												
4			Make unstable	1			Integrated	1	Controlled	1		
									Deported	1		
									Discriminated	1		
5									Exploited	4		
									Ignored	2		
									Differentiated	1		
									Marginalised	1		
									Made inferior	1		
									Wronged	1		
6									Criticised	1		
									Excluded	1		

Appendix 12

Table of Vocabulary in the original languages and English translations

Articles 1-3	Translation	Articles 1-3	Translation
Absence	Absence	Issus de l'immigration	Coming from immigration
Actes graves	Serious offence	Jeunes	Youth
Adjoint d'établissement	Deputy director	Jugé	Judged
Administration	Administration	Juge des libertés et de la détention (JLD)	Judge of civil liberties and of detention
Agence nationale d'accueil des étrangers et des migrations (ANAEM)	National Agency of reception to immigrants and migrations	Langage	Language
Alcoolique	Alcoholic	Le <i>beur</i> de service	The <i>beur</i> on call
Apprendre	Learn	Légalement	Legal
Arriver	Arrive	Libéré	Freed
Attendre	Wait	Licencié	Laid off
Autrement	Different	Livreur	Deliverer
Cambodgien	Cambodian	Maghrébin	From the Maghreb
Carte de Séjour	Residence permit	Maîtriser	Master
Choisir	Choose	Malien	Malian
Cliché	Cliché	Mexicain	Mexican
Communication	Communication	Né à l'étranger	Born abroad
Comparaître	To appear (law)	Ne écrire	Not to write
Conquis	Conquered	Né hors de l'Hexagone	Born outside the Hexagon
Conseiller	Adviser	Ne parler	Not to talk
Content	Happy	Ne se distinguer	Not distinguished
Couches populaires	Working-class	Obtenir	Obtain
Croire	Believe	Ouvrier	Workman
Cuisinier	Cook	Papiers	Documents
D'origine étrangère	Of foreign origin	Pauvreté	Poverty
D'origine tunisienne, marocaine ou d'Afrique noire	Of Tunisian, Moroccan or black African origin	Personnes françaises nées de parents étrangers	French people born from foreign parents
D'Algérie	From Algeria	Petits boulots	Small Jobs

De nationalité étrangère	Of foreign nationality	Placé en garde à vue	Taken into custody
Déchanter	Disenchant	Préfecture	Prefecture
Dédale administratif	Red tape	Préférer	Prefer
Délinquance	Delinquency	Prestigieux	Prestigious
Délinquant	Delinquent	Fierté	Pride
Délit	Offence	Primo arrivant	Newly arrived immigrant
Directeur	Headmaster	Prison	Prison
Discrimination	Discrimination	Produits achevés	Accomplished products
École	School	Professeur	Teacher
Écorchés vifs	Skinny alive	Promotion sociale	Social Promotion
Élève	Student	Quartier	Neighbourhood
Employés	Employees	Quitter	Quit
Enfants d'étrangers	Children of foreigners	Redoubler	Repeat a year
Enseigner	Teach	Régularisation	Regularisation
Essayer	Try	Remplir	Fill in
Ethnique	Ethnic	Responsabilité particulière	Special responsibility
Eux	Them	Réussir	Achieve
Évolution	Evolution	Revenir	Come back
Exclus	Excluded	Rêver	Dream
Famille	Family	Savoir	Know
Fondu	Blended in	S'intéresser	Be interested in
Forfanterie	Snobbery	Soutien	Support
Fournir	To produce (law)	Surreprésentation	Overrepresentation
Français de souche	Pure-breed French	Tâtonner	Grope about
Ghettoisation	Ghettoisation	Transféré	Transferred
Handicap	Handicap	Travailler	Work
Ils	They	Travailleurs appréciés	Valued workers
Immigration	Immigration	Tribunal	Court
Impuissance	Powerlessness	Tribunal	Court
Inactif	Inactive	Valeurs laïques	Secular values
Inégalité	Inequality	Vendeur	Merchant
Intégration	Integration	Violence	Violence
Investissement	Invest	Visa	Visa

Articles 4-6	Translation	Articles 4-6	Translation
Antecedentes criminais	Criminal background	Furto	Robbery
Apanhado	Caught	Homicídio	Homicide
Aperto no peito	Crunch in the chest	Identificação	Identification
Assalto	Robbery	Illegal	Illegal
Ausência	Absence	Imigração	Immigration
Autorização de residência	Residence permit	Imigrante	Immigrant
Bairro	Neighbourhood	Imigrantes de segunda geração	Second generation immigrants
Brasileiro	Brazilian	Indivíduo	Individual
Chumbar	Fail	Inexistente	Non-existent
Cidadãos não integrados	Non-integrated citizens	Informado	Informed
Cometer	Commit	Insucesso escolar	School failure
Comunicação	Communication	Integração	Integration
Confessar	Confess	Jovens	Youth
Conseguir	Achieve	Legal	Legal
Contrato	Contract	Língua Portuguesa	Portuguese language
Correios de droga	Drug smugglers	Não declarado	Not declared
Crimes	Crimes	Não duvidar	Not to doubt
Criminalidade	Criminality	Outras línguas e dialectos	Other languages and dialects
Crítico	Critical	Prisão	Prison
Declarar	Declare	Problemático	Problematic
Descendentes de imigrantes	Descendant from immigrants	Reagrupamento	Regrouping
Detecção	Detected	Recusado	Refused
Detido	Arrested	Registo criminal	Criminal record
Diferente	Different	Rendimentos	Income
Dificuldades	Difficulties	Residir	Reside
Directo	Straightforward	Salário Mínimo	Minimum wage
Discreto	Discreet	Saudade	Longing
Discriminado	Discriminated	Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF)	Borders and Immigration Office
Documentos	Documents	Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF)	Borders and Immigration Office
Escola	School	Subsistência	Subsistence

Esperança	Hope	Trabalhar	Work
Estrangeiro	Foreigner	Tráfico	Traffic
Expulso	Expelled	Vir	Come
Família	Family	Viver	Live
Filhos de imigrantes	Children of immigrants	Voz sufocada	Smothering voice
Fugir	Escape		

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